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## THE MANTIC MECHANISM AT DELPHI

UNLIKE the worship of the Great Mother at Eleusis, the oracle of Delphi did not contain, to the Greek mind, any mystery. There were no unmentionable elements, no esoteric ritual. Philosophers felt free to discuss and explain it, geographers to describe it. Anyone who had the means might consult it freely, and in person hear the ravings of the sibyl. And yet the exact arrangement of the oracular shrine, the mechanics of its operation, seem almost as vague as those of Demeter's *Telesterion*.

The material remains are unfortunately very slight, in fact almost imperceptible today, and it is only by the illuminating studies of M. Courby, a decade ago, that we have anything to guide us other than the confused allusions of the literary sources.

M. Courby has shown<sup>1</sup> that within the great temple, quite at one side, stood a little structure, the adyton, sanctuary of the oracle, very old in origin, even perhaps founded on prehistoric masonry. This edicule, he says, was of two stories, the upper room for the consultants of the oracle being built above an obscure crypt where, in the rocky floor, was supposed to be the mysterious fissure, the *στόμα γῆς*. That is all; for the arrangements and furniture of the edicule, we must rely on written statements which seem singularly contradictory and, whenever specific, are unfortunately late. The chances are, however, that in this place, perhaps the most venerated spot in Greece, all cult practices were maintained with great conservatism. And therefore, though the fertile Greek imagination was undoubtedly continually occupied with revising and reinterpreting its legends, the basic mechanism of the oracle may well have been the same at the beginning of the Christian era as in the fifth century before Christ. In that case, if we assume that a common foundation of fact underlies the often conflicting testimony, the very contradictions of our many sources may serve to point the truth.

One of the earliest, and certainly one of the clearest descriptions which we have, is that of Strabo.<sup>2</sup> He says: "The place where the oracle is delivered is said to be a deep hollow *antron*, the entrance to which is not very wide. From it rises an exhalation that inspires a divine frenzy. Over the mouth (*stomion*) is placed a lofty tripod on which the Pythian priestess ascends to receive the exhalation, after which she gives the prophetic response."

Diodorus,<sup>3</sup> after telling the legend of the discovery of the intoxicating vapor issuing from the rock, and how, to avoid accident, a priestess was chosen to be the sole medium of its inspiration, says: "And for her an apparatus was constructed,<sup>4</sup> on which, climbing up in safety, she became inspired and prophesied . . . and the apparatus had three feet, from which it was called a tripod."

Euripides<sup>5</sup> also says that a maiden of Delphi has her seat upon a most holy tripod, whence she chants oracles uttered by Apollo.

Plutarch<sup>6</sup> refers to the sacred vapor which formerly inspired the priestess, and Pollux<sup>6</sup> remarks: "The cover upon the Delphic tripod on which the prophetess sits is called *holmos*."

<sup>1</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, Vol. II, fasc. 1, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ion*. 91-93, cf. Eur. *Electra*, 980.

<sup>3</sup> X, (κγ), 23; cf. Schol. on Arist. *Plut.*, 9, 39.

<sup>4</sup> IX, ch. III, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *De Pyth. Or.*, 17.

<sup>6</sup> XVI, 26.

From this it is clear that at the beginning of our era the general belief—and probably the actual fact—was that the priestess sat upon, or used to sit upon, a high tripod, and there inhaled vapors coming from the ground, which threw her into a prophetic frenzy. The existence of a well known vase-painting found at Vulci<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1) representing Aegeus consulting Themis—by tradition one of the earliest prophetesses at Delphi—who is perched upon a tripod, indicates that this strange form of seat was at least as old as the fifth century B.C. There are also many representations of the god himself, instead of the

Pythia, who was but his visible substitute, seated upon the tripod, and Euripides refers often to Apollo so enthroned.<sup>2</sup>

As for the source of the vapor, in the words of Suidas:<sup>3</sup> "He (Apollo) chooses for prophesying, women frenzied by the breath of the Python"; Lucian<sup>4</sup> says that "the serpent placed beneath the tripod (at Delphi) has a voice only because there is a serpent shining among the stars"; the hymn to Apollo<sup>5</sup> derives the Pytho from *πίω*, because the serpent slain by Apollo rotted in the sun and gave forth a putrid odor. These statements indicate that the Python, alive or dead, was supposed to be the source of the mephitic



FIG. 1.—AEGEUS AND THEMIS

exhalation which rose beneath the tripod.

In modern times the tripod itself has been a matter of much discussion, some believing that there were two at Delphi, one the mantic tripod of the Pythian priestess, the other the funeral tripod of Dionysos. For Clement of Alexandria<sup>6</sup> thus relates a current myth: "The Titans, they who tore him to pieces, place a bowl (*lebes*) upon a tripod, and casting the limbs of Dionysos into it, boil them down; then piercing them with spits they hold them over Hephaistos . . . Zeus the Thunderer discomforts the Titans and entrusts the limbs of Dionysos to his son Apollo, for burial. In obedience to Zeus, Apollo carries the mutilated corpse to Parnassus and lays it to rest." Arnobius<sup>7</sup> repeats the story of the luring away of Dionysos by the Titans, in order to tear him to pieces and cook him in a pot; and of the Titans being cast into Tartarus by the thunderbolts of Zeus. It is quite possible that he copies directly from Clement, but he does not mention the entombment at Delphi. The *Etymologicum Magnum*<sup>8</sup> says: "The Titans tore apart the limbs of Dionysos, cast them into a *lebes* and gave them to Apollo. This was set upon the tripod by the brother." That this savage legend was not purely a Christian concoction is attested by Tzetzes,<sup>9</sup> who gives the following clear and definite statement: "Together with

<sup>1</sup> Welcker, *Griech. Gotterl.*, III, p. 19, very frequently reproduced; cf. red-figured vase (c. 400), Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. ined.*, pl. 37. F. R., *Gr. Vas.*, pl. 140.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *I.T.*, 1252-1254; *Or.*, 955-956; *Ion*, 366; *Elec.*, 980.

<sup>3</sup> *Homeric Hymn Pyth. Ap.*, 371-372. Cf. Suidas, s.v. *Πίω*.

<sup>7</sup> *Adv. gent.*, 5, 19.

<sup>8</sup> 235, 13; s.v. *Δελφοί*.

<sup>5</sup> S.v. *Πίω*.

<sup>4</sup> *Astrol.*, 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Cohort. ad gentes*, 15 p.

<sup>9</sup> *Ad Lycophr.*, 208.

Apollo, Dionysos was also worshipped in the innermost part of the temple at Delphi, as follows: The Titans cast into a *lebes* and gave to Apollo the limbs of his brother which they had torn apart, and he set it up upon the tripod, as Kallimachus (c. 256 B.C.) says. And Euphorion (c. 235 B.C.) says they cast the divine Bacchus into fire above a bowl." We can be reasonably certain from this, that at least as far back as the early third century it was believed that the bones of Dionysos lay in a bowl on a tripod in the Temple at Delphi. That this notion was widespread and persistent is shown by the definition of Servius;<sup>1</sup> "Cortina, the place from which the oracle is given, because the heart (*cor*) of the seer is kept there."

But if we admit, beside the Pythia's throne within the edicule, a second tripod to hold the fragmentary bones of Dionysos, we are unable, logically, to stop there, but may have to admit a third. For Hyginus<sup>2</sup> relates this parallel tale: "Python was a huge serpent, the son of Earth, who before Apollo's time, used to give answers from the oracle on Mount Parnassus. . . . Apollo . . . killed Python with his arrows. . . . He cast his bones into a vessel and placed them in his temple and gave funeral games for him, the games which are called Pythian." And the uncritical Servius<sup>3</sup> supports him thus: "In the same temple (at Delphi) there is a tripod with the bones and teeth of the Pythian serpent."

It is hardly reasonable to suppose that within the temple there were two tripods set up by Apollo, each containing the bones of a slain divinity. And when we recall the probability that Dionysos, son of Semele, god of the grape, is only a later personification of the fertility serpent, son of Ge, god of growing grain, whose worship he had replaced at Delphi, the truth is evident. The story of how the one met his death, lured away as a child by the teacherous fire demons, has the ring of extreme antiquity. It parallels the tale of the infant Cretan Zeus tempted by playthings away from the protecting *Kouretes*, and may easily be related to the seasonal myth of the benevolent hero-god—Amphiaraos, Asklepios, and at Delphi, Python—destroyed by the fires of heaven. For our purposes, the common factor in the two stories is that there were believed to be sacred bones in the *lebes* of a tripod in the *adyton*.

The origin of this belief is suggested by Suidas,<sup>4</sup> who says: "Near the city (Delphi) was a temple of Apollo, called Pytho. In this a brazen tripod was set up and above this was a basin which held the prophetic lots. Whenever those who were consulting the oracle asked a question some were drawn out, and the Pythia, employing them, or becoming possessed, declared that which Apollo revealed." Here we have a perfectly reasonable explanation of the presence of the "bones" in the *lebes*. Prophecy by the drawing of lots seems to have been of great antiquity in Greece. It was the method employed at Dodona, where an oracle existed from pre-Greek times, and there is a general probability that it was the method practiced at Delphi before the coming of Apollo, when Pytho and his two-phased mother, Ge-Themis, held the shrine. The more dramatic form of prophecy by inspired frenzy is often supposed to be an importation from the orient.<sup>5</sup> If so, there can be little doubt that it quickly superseded the older method in its hold on the popular fancy, so it is not surprising

<sup>1</sup> *Com. on Aen.*, III, 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Fab.*, CXL.

<sup>3</sup> *Com. on Aen.*, III, 360.

<sup>4</sup> *S.v.* Πυθία.

<sup>5</sup> Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* I, pp. 360 ff.; III, pp. 84-89, conjectures that the frenzy of the Pythia became the established method of divination at Delphi in the eighth or early seventh century.



that in later days the presence of "bones" in the tripod basin should have given rise to explanatory legends, such as Greek wit was never at a loss to supply. In fact it may easily be that the tripod was originally set up solely for holding lots. For such a purpose it would be an ideal mechanism, while as a seat, it verges on the ridiculous. In any case there can be no doubt that the tripod which Suidas refers to as holding the lots, was the mantic tripod of the *adyton* at Delphi. Hence if the reputed bones of Python-Dionysos can be identified with these lots, there is no reason to assume a "tripod of Dionysos" distinct from that of the Pythia. Moreover, there is nowhere in ancient literature any reference to two or more tripods in the mantic shrine.

But it was probably not simply whim that led the Greeks to identify the bones in the tripod as those of Dionysos. For, quite aside from the legend of the Titans, there was a general belief that Dionysos was buried in the *adyton*. Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> without mentioning the tripod, says that "the Delphians also believe that the remains of Dionysos are laid up with them, beside (or within—the word *παρά* is very varied in its meanings) the place of prophecy." Eusebius<sup>2</sup> says that "meeting Perseus in battle he (Dionysos) was killed, as Deinarchos—the poet not the rhetorician—says. And it is still possible for anybody who wishes, to see his tomb in Delphi, near the golden Apollo," and Pausanias<sup>3</sup> particularizes the locality by saying that the golden image of Apollo was in the innermost part of the temple, where few entered. The correctness of the quotation from Deinarchos is supported by Joannes Malala,<sup>4</sup> who relates of Dionysos that he "fled from Lycurgus and, going to Delphi, died there. And the remains were placed there in a grave (*soros*) . . . as the very wise Deinarchos wrote about Dionysos himself"; and by Cyril,<sup>5</sup> who says: "For Deinarchos, a poet not without fame, relating the deeds of Dionysos and all that he experienced in India, clearly tells how he killed Lycurgus and Actaeon, and was himself killed by Perseus and was laid to rest in Delphi near the Apollo called golden." Malala<sup>6</sup> gives further evidence from an earlier authority than any yet encountered. He says that "Philochoros states in his exposition about Dionysos, that his tomb can be seen in Delphi, beside the golden Apollo and his grave (*σορός*) is thought to be a basis (*βάθρον*) on which is inscribed, 'Here lies Dionysos the son of Semele, dead!' Similarly, the very wise Kephalion has also set forth the same things in his writings, on the same subject." How a *bathron* could be a *soros* is difficult to understand, but if we interpret the passage as a transformation of *νοεῖται ὑπὸ τῇ σορῷ*,<sup>7</sup> the sense becomes perfectly clear. "Under the monument (*soros*) there is to be seen a basis on which is written, etc." For his part Cyril<sup>8</sup> gives a most peculiar version of the same detail: "And Porphyry in speaking about Pythagoras says . . . he sailed to Delphi in a ship and inscribed elegiac verses on the tomb of Apollo, in which he makes it clear that Apollo was the son of Silenus, that he was killed by the Python and laid to rest in what is called the tripod."

A more tangled story than this last can hardly be imagined, and yet there is such a basic resemblance between it and that quoted from Philochoros, as to establish with

<sup>1</sup> *Isid. et Onir.*, 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. can.*, II, ed. Mai., 292.

<sup>3</sup> X, 24, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron.*, II, p. 45, ed. Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> *Contr. Julian*, p. 342.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Actually the passage reads: *Βάθρον δὲ τι εἶναι ὑπονοεῖται ἡ σορός ἐν ᾗ γράφεται* "ἐνθάδε κεῖται, κτλ."

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*

fair certainty that in the *adyton* near the golden statue of Apollo was some sort of *soros*, standing on a basis inscribed with elegiac verse to the effect that someone, son of someone, was buried there. Philochoros was a serious and careful antiquary; the few remaining fragments of his writings are among our most reliable authorities, and coupled with the quoted accord of Kephalion and the local belief which Plutarch mentions, there can be little doubt that the name on the basis in the fourth century B.C. was "Dionysos, son of Semele." By Porphyry's time the inscription may have become so obscure as to account for the extraordinary rendition given by Cyril.

But there is one point of considerable importance in Cyril's garbled tale. The inscription according to him said that the *tripod* was the resting place of the dead god. Probably the inscription on the basis said nothing of the sort, but merely used the phrase which Philochoros quotes "*Ἐνθάδε κείται*." And that phrase "here lies" was thought to refer to the tripod rather than to the *soros* which stood upon the basis. For this to be the case, of course, it would be necessary for *soros* and basis to be in immediate juxtaposition with the tripod, but granted that, it is perfectly obvious how the prophetic "bones" which rattled when the frenzied Pythia set the tripod shaking came to be considered those of the god referred to in the nearby inscription.

Strictly speaking, a *soros* is a tumulus, but that in the *adyton* at Delphi was obviously a small monument. A clue to its nature is given by Tatian,<sup>1</sup> who says that "in the *temenos* of the son of Leto, there is a so-called Omphalos; now the Omphalos is the grave of Dionysos." And this statement is supported by the variant one of Varro,<sup>2</sup> who remarks: "What the Delphians call the center of the earth is in the temple somewhat to the side, a kind of *thesaurus* which the Greeks call Omphalos, which they hold to be the tumulus of Python," and by that of Hesychius:<sup>3</sup> "There also the serpent was shot with the bow, and the Omphalos of the earth is the grave of Python." Dionysos and Python are here again interchangeable names for the young fertility god whose grave was revered. A solution is thus offered for the controversy between Bouché-Leclercq,<sup>4</sup> who maintains that the mantic frenzy of the Pythia was Dionysiac in origin, and that Dionysos must have preceded Apollo at Delphi, as otherwise he would never have been admitted there at all; and Dempsey,<sup>5</sup> who disagrees, on the ground that the cult of Dionysos in Greece is altogether post-Apolline. These two views are easily reconciled by the hypothesis that there was a pre-Olympian, orgiastic, mantic cult at Delphi, where the annually dying son of the Earth-Mother (later confused with Hera) was worshipped as the serpent Pytho; and that afterwards, when the worship of the same or a cognate god with the name Dionysos, was introduced into Greece, the newcomer took over all the prerogatives of his older self which had not already been assumed by Apollo. The upright stone marking the chasm where the stricken serpent-boy was swallowed, became then the Omphalos above the grave of Dionysos.

This Omphalos, says Varro,<sup>6</sup> was a sort of *thesaurus*, which we may take to mean a

<sup>1</sup> *Or. adv. Graecos*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *De Lingua Latina*, VII, 17.

<sup>3</sup> S.v. *τοῦτον θούρον*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. de la divination*, Vol. I, pp. 352 ff.; II, p. 260; III, pp. 52-53; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des. Antiq.*, s.v. *Divinatio*, Vol. II, p. 311 b.

<sup>5</sup> *Delphic Oracle*, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *De Lingua Latina*, VII, 17.

"bee-hive" tomb, or more likely, as Karo<sup>1</sup> has it, a savings bank in bee-hive form, which, of course, is in miniature just the form of the *tumulus* or *soros* that marks a hero's grave as represented in vase-paintings from very early times (Fig. 2). Of course it is possible that the statement of Hesychius does not refer to a monument at all, since, as Roscher<sup>2</sup> has shown, the phrase "Omphalos of the earth" may very well have meant originally the *stoma* or cleft in the rock, and only later have been applied to the bee-hive shaped monument that stood there.<sup>3</sup>

So far, it appears clear that in the *adyton* there stood near to the golden statue of *Apollo* the so-called *Omphalos* upon an inscribed base, and close beside this the high

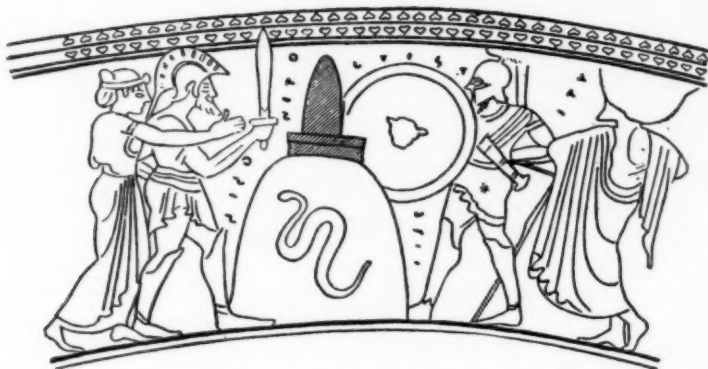


FIG. 2.—NAPLES, NATIONAL MUSEUM. DESIGN ON A LEKYTHOS

tripod, in the basin of which were the prophetic lots, and on which the priestess sat to breathe the noxious vapors coming from below. On a number of vases *Omphalos* and tripod are thus represented, close together, though the value of such testimony is somewhat lessened by the fact that in other representations each stands alone. There is also a fine fifth century relief found at the Piraeus (Fig. 3),<sup>4</sup> which shows *Apollo* seated on the tripod and at his feet the *Omphalos* flanked by two

<sup>1</sup> Article "Omphalos" in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* IV, 1, p. 198a; cf. D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 248-249.

<sup>2</sup> *Omphalos*, reprint of pt. IX, *Abhandl. der Philol. Hist. Klasse der K. Sächs. Gesell. der Wissenschaft.*, pp. 79, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough, Roscher (*op. cit.* pp. 67 ff.) disagrees entirely with those who hold that the *Omphalos* stone was originally a monument set to mark the grave of *Python*; on the ground that it is only late Greek authors who so speak of it, whereas the earliest authority calls the *Omphalos* the center of the earth. If the word were applied to both pit and stone, and to the former first, there is, of course, no reason why the stone may not have stood long years to mark where *Python* lay dead in the chasm at the center of the earth, before the name *Omphalos* was ever transferred to it. That a fifth-century geographer claimed the *Omphalos*—the hole perhaps—to be at the center of the earth, does not in the slightest indicate that the stone standing there had not long been held to mark the grave of *Python*. On the other hand, Roscher himself shows that the bee-hive form, which from the Delphic stone we commonly refer to as "an *Omphalos*," was the typical form of hero graves and was constantly associated with serpent cults. He even points out—though apparently without realizing the connection—that the *Omphalos* was a particular attribute of *Asklepios* and of *Hermes*, both variants of the prehistoric semi-chthonic serpent hero known at Delphi as *Python*.

<sup>4</sup> *Stals*, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1909, pl. 8; cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 86.



regardant eagles. Roscher<sup>1</sup> points out the great similarity between this representation of Omphalos and eagles and two other well cut reliefs of the same period<sup>2</sup>—the only difference being that in both the others the Omphalos and eagles are on a low



FIG. 3.—RELIEF FROM THE PIRAEUS



FIG. 4.—RELIEF FROM SPARTA

rectangular base (Fig. 4). He suggests, with good reason I think, that the three are intentional representations of the real monument as it appeared in the fifth century. It may be also, that the grouping of Omphalos and tripod in the first relief is a careful rendering of the actual relationship between the two.

Fortunately, the whole arrangement can claim to be more than a reasonable hypothesis, because of the support of material evidence almost miraculously preserved at Delphi. This consists primarily of a block of St. Elias limestone (Fig. 5)<sup>3</sup> found in the western end of the temple. It was evidently a pavement block, and as M. Courby shows by a careful process of elimination, almost certainly came from the *adyton*. A channel cut in the top surface divides it roughly into two equal parts; on one stood some sort of a basis nearly square in plan, on the other a basis which would have been circular if a segment had not been removed to allow the



FIG. 5.—DELPHI, TEMPLE OF APOLLO. BLOCK FROM WESTERN END

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 84–87.

<sup>2</sup> Sparta, Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* XII, 1887, pl. XII; cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Athens, Svoronos, *Journ. Internat. d'Archéol. numis.* XIII, 1911, p. 302; cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, Vol. II, fasc. 1, pp. 67–68. For this photograph, I am indebted to Mr. George Pratt.

channel to pass between the two bases. Except where it was covered by the bases, the surface of the stone is encrusted with a heavy calcareous deposit, due undoubtedly to long continued wetting of the floor with the lime-impregnated water of Delphi. The channel was obviously to drain this water away from the vicinity of the round basis. Near the center of the area covered by the square basis a hole, roughly 0.15 m. square, has been cut straight through the block; the sides of the hole are not carefully dressed and the corners are rounded. It is three or four centimeters wider at the bottom than at the top (Fig. 6).<sup>1</sup> Within the area covered by the circular basis are a number of cuttings, two for hook clamps to hold the block tightly to its neighbor, two small circular holes, and three rectangular ones grouped in a triangle about a fourth slightly larger rectangular hole. M. Courby considered this last cutting to be a lewis hole made for lifting the block, though for lifting by a single

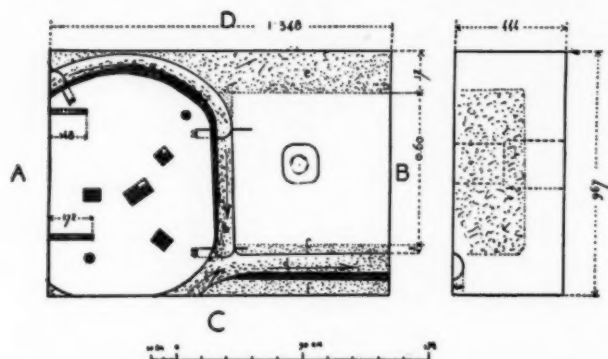


FIG. 6.—DELPHI, TEMPLE OF APOLLO. PAVEMENT BLOCK. PLAN

lewis, the lewis hole should be in the center of the block. M. Courby points out that an inverted anathyrosis on one end indicates that the block has been reused, and may therefore have been reduced in size at some time. Even so the block would have had to have been of extraordinary size for the supposed lewis hole in question ever to have been in the center of it. Moreover, if the inverted anathyrosis indicates reuse at all,<sup>2</sup> it indicates a second using when all the cuttings were on the under side, wherefore all and not merely the central one would belong to the period before reuse. The other three rectangular holes M. Courby considers to have been for dowels to hold the circular monument. He cites<sup>3</sup> as evidence of the use of triple dowels in columns at Delphi a column base found in use as an altar in the church of St. Elias with a similar grouping of holes. But sections of columns before the fourth century are regularly joined to one another by single square *empolia* centrally placed; from the fourth century on, the use of iron dowels leaded into the stone becomes common, but where dowels are used there are never three, so far as I know; they are placed

<sup>1</sup> Courby, *loc. cit.*, fig. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Where the under surface of a block is visible it is usual to have the smooth band of an anathyrosis along the lower edge, cf. the epistyles of the Parthenon made of three parallel beams. Therefore, if the slab at Delphi served as the ceiling of a crypt, the apparently inverted anathyrosis would be quite correct.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67, note 2; fig. 70a.

relatively near the circumference, and the lower end of the dowel is always leaded in place by pour channels cut on the upper surface of the lower block. On the column base in question the three so-called dowel holes are rather near the center, there is lead around them but no sign of pour channels; there is a square central cutting for an *empolion*, and a single iron dowel actually in place on the lower side of the base. The Ionic capital<sup>1</sup> which M. Courby thinks belonged, together with this base, to the inner order of the temple, shows a single central *empolion* hole and no sign of peripheral dowels at all. Since there are also three circular holes in the column base, which M. Courby attributes to a reuse, I see no reason why the triangular group of square holes should not themselves be due to a reuse, as sealings for some monument set upon the base after it had ceased to serve for a column.

With the stone from the floor of the edicule there is even less reason to believe that the triangular group of holes were for dowels to hold a circular monument, for not only are there no traces of pour channels, not only are the three holes placed far from the circumference of the circle, but they are not by any means concentric with that circumference. On the other hand, the center of a circle drawn through the three is found to lie in the so-called lewis hole. Taking these four holes together it would seem obvious that they were for the attachment of the three legs and central columnar support of a metal tripod. The arrangement is not at all uncommon in Greek remains, and I am at a loss to see why, with his fertile imagination and clear insight, M. Courby has not suggested it here.<sup>2</sup>

A line drawn from one to the other of the two circular holes passes directly through the central rectangular one, and though they are not quite equidistant from this, they are very nearly so, much more nearly than they are equidistant from the center of the surrounding circle of the water-channel. M. Courby considers that these two round holes were for dowels of a later period than those he assigns to the rectangular ones. Again I am unable to follow him, for circular dowels, except as small pins, are a form quite unknown to me, and the relation of their position to the rectangular holes would indicate that all belonged to the same system. If the central group were for a tripod, I would surmise that the circular holes were for two upright rods or thin supports of some sort flanking the tripod at diametrically opposite points.

It can be seen (Fig. 6) that the hook clamps at the left of the stone have been roughly dug out for the sake of the metal, as was commonly done in mediaeval times. But from the other holes in the block the metal has been carefully removed without damage to the surrounding stone; evidently this was done in antiquity. It seems probable, therefore, that at some time the tripod was removed from the floor slab in order to raise it upon a circular base. This would account for the fact that the center of the group of holes does not correspond with that of the circular water-channel, the size of the circular base adopted requiring that the center be moved farther away from the adjacent square basis, which we may suppose to have been

<sup>1</sup> Courby, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Miller, *Daedalus and Thespis*, I, p. 82, publishes an excellent photograph of the block, and states with complete assurance that upon this floor slab (of limestone rather than marble) stood the mantic tripod in the *adyton*, and that the channel was for the waters of Kassotis. He does not enter into any discussion of M. Courby's theories nor advance any suggestions of his own as to the function of the square basis or that of the hole through the stone.

already in place. Apparently the circular base was set tangent to the square one; but still later, the necessity for draining the floor caused the water-channel to be cut between them, and clipped a sector from the circle. The two hook clamps, I am at a loss to explain. One could hardly have found room for a proper hold in the adjoining block, within the circle of the base and water-channel, and yet it is difficult to imagine these two clamps set in the floor with no attempt to cover them. Since the method of removal indicates that they remained in place to a late time, it is possible that they date from some late reuse of the stone or from a time when a still

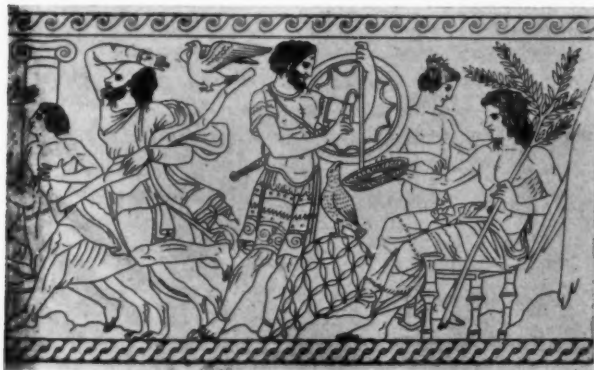


FIG. 7.—BRONZE CISTA. DETAIL. BARBERINI COLLECTION

be the mantic tripod on which the Pythia sat. Perhaps from the holes on either side sprang the laurel boughs with real or metal foliage which the priestess in her frenzy is said to have shaken when she prophesied.<sup>1</sup> And what more natural than that the Pythia, having filled a cup with the water of Kassotis from the crypt beneath the temple,<sup>2</sup> should pour a libation of the sacred liquid round the tripod as she mounts and drinks? This would explain the water on the floor, which to judge from the channel was present chiefly around the circular base.

In fact, on the Vulci vase (Fig. 1), Themis, as she sits on the tripod, is shown with a sprig of laurel in one hand, and in the other, a phiale evidently for pouring libations, and a parallel representation on a Greco-Etruscan bronze cista (Fig. 7),<sup>3</sup> shows Apollo holding a large branch of laurel in one hand and a phiale in the other as he sits upon a three-legged stool before an Omphalos covered with a network of fillets and surmounted by an indeterminate bird.

There is one argument, but only one so far as I can see, against the likelihood of the prophetic tripod having stood upon this slab. That is the express statement by Plutarch on five occasions,<sup>4</sup> that one "goes down" to the oracle. The natural inference is that the prophetic utterance occurred in an underground chamber where the

<sup>1</sup> Eurip., *Androm.* V, 115; Schol., Aristoph., *Plut.*, I, 213: "They say that near the tripod stood a laurel which the Pythia shook when she gave oracles."

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, X 24.7, "They say that the water of Kassotis goes down under ground and inspires the women with the spirit of prophecy in the shrine of the god."

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* VIII, pls. XXVIII-XXX.

<sup>4</sup> *Timol.* 8; *De def. orac.* 51; *De Pyth. orac.* 6, 22, 28.

larger base, covering the channel was set beneath the tripod. For the matter in hand, however, that point is of little or no concern.

Now a tripod of ample size—the space between the two round holes would permit a maximum of .60 m. and the circle of the feet would require a minimum of .40 m. for the diameter of the *lebes*—set on a base within the place of prophecy, would almost certainly



tripod was set directly over a crevice in the native rock, the auditors seated in the edicule above, presumably hearing the sound of her ravings through some opening in the floor. M. Courby<sup>1</sup> accepts this arrangement and so does Middleton.<sup>2</sup> But the arrangement is not certain nor the objection fatal. For in the first place the upper story of the edicule may have been below the level of the temple floor, even though there was a crypt beneath it, and thus entering the edicule would be a "going down." Probability supports this, for the temple is built on a slope which required foundations five meters high to bring the euthynteria on the south side to the level of the bed rock at the north, and the edicule, situated in the southern half of the temple would certainly not have its prehistoric floor more than three meters above the natural grade; even in the fifth-century Erechtheum, the floor of the north porch is at a maximum height of 2 m. above the floor of the crypt. In successive rebuildings the floor of the edicule might have been raised, but conservatism surrounding so holy a spot would militate against this. There is also material evidence for a lower floor level in the edicule than in the temple cella. M. Courby reproduces photographs of a wall block of the edicule, which he labels *p*.<sup>3</sup> This block has disappeared since excavation, but photographs show a dowel hole in the upper surface and a dressing away of the top in a narrow band along the upper inner edge. This dressing is best explained by the hypothesis that the wall which stood upon the block was narrower than *p*, and the floor adjoining it lower, so that without the dressing a projecting corner would have appeared along the base line. Or it is possible that the cutting marks the level of the bottom rather than the top of the floor slabs, and that it was made so that these could be set close against the wall. I see no other good explanation. With the first and more probable hypothesis, if stone *p* was *in situ* when found, the floor of the edicule would have been slightly over one meter below the floor of the temple nave. With the second hypothesis the floor of the edicule would have been the thickness of a floor slab (about .44 m.) higher, but still at least two steps below the nave. One citation from Plutarch's *Timoleon*,<sup>4</sup> supports this interpretation of "going down." He says that "going down into the *manteion*, from among the votive offerings suspended there, a fillet which had crowns and victories embroidered on it, slipped and fell directly upon the head of Timoleon." No private individual, not even Timoleon, would have been allowed to enter a secret and sacred underground cavern, and no normal college of priests would have hung votive offerings where they could not serve to stimulate the generosity of future visitors. The *manteion* which Timoleon went "down into" was in all probability the audience room of the edicule where consultants attended the utterances of the Pythia and where "ex voto" offerings would be hung. Another passage of Plutarch shows definitely that the consultants were witnesses of the frenzy of the Pythia and therefore, that the tripod was not hidden in a secret cave. On one unfortunate occasion the priestess "went down against her will, but at the first words she uttered

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.*, IX, 1888, p. 306; and conjectural section, fig. 13, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, figs. 46, 47, 49. The height of block *p* is not known. If the floor slabs, .444 m. thick rested on two blocks B, B'—fig. 49—which project beyond the base of the east wall of the edicule, the top surface would lie .369 m. above the bottom surface of *p*. As well as one can judge this should about correspond with the bottom of the cutting on *p*.

<sup>4</sup> VIII, 2.

showed she was possessed of an evil spirit. Finally *running toward the door to get out*, she threw herself on the ground so that *the pilgrims as well as the priests fled for fear.*"<sup>1</sup> "Running toward the door to get out" gives much more the picture of a room above ground than of a subterranean cavern, and it is obvious that in this case pilgrims, as well as the priests, were present in the place of the Pythia's frenzy.

A second interpretation of the "going down" of the priestess would permit the mantic tripod to be in an upper room rather than in the crypt. This is, that the priestess first went down into the crypt for the water of Kassotis, supposed to flow there, and then coming up again mounted the tripod. Some such preliminary descent to the sacred spring is clearly implied in the passage cited from Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> and in the words of Lucian:<sup>3</sup> "Whenever his prophetess after drinking from the holy well, and chewing laurel and setting the tripod ashake—etc." It was probably a customary part of the ritual. Still, from the passage in *Timoleon*, I think it probable that Plutarch habitually used the phrase "going down," or "*καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον*," to mean simply "entering the edicule."

If the prophetic tripod stood upon the circular basis, what was on the square one close by? We have mention of a golden statue of Apollo within the edicule and an Omphalos and a tomb of Dionysos; the last two were probably the same, and there is no record of any other monument there. Nothing is known in detail of the golden Apollo, but it can hardly be that any statue would be set close against the tripod. The Omphalos, however, by amazing luck has been preserved (Fig. 8), a small rough bee-hive shaped block of poros, .385 m. wide across the base by .287 m. high, which M. Courby<sup>4</sup> has identified as the very ancient sacred stone of Delphi, said to mark the center of the Earth and also said to mark the grave of Python. This Omphalos might be set on a low square base beside the circular one on which the tripod stood.<sup>5</sup> The size of the rectangle outlined on the floor slab would give room on either side for the golden eagles close against the stone, as shown on the reliefs cited above (Figs. 3, 4). What then would be the purpose of the hole cut through the floor slab underneath? Obviously there would be no reason for such a hole beneath the base of the golden statue. But the Omphalos shows what is most remarkable, a hole about four centimeters square pierced through it from top to bottom. M. Courby<sup>6</sup> suggests that this may have been to hold a wooden shaft serving as a support for the golden eagles, or some other object, on top of the Omphalos. But such a purpose would not account for the proportions. A depth of .287 m. for a width of less than .04 m. quite removes it from the class of dowel holes or holes for *empolia*, while the fact that it goes clear through the stone at once recalls the hole cut through the pavement slab, and lends strong support to the hypothesis already developed on other grounds, that the Omphalos on a low square inscribed base stood on this particular slab, with a continuous axial hole worked through all three stones.

In the top of the hole in the Omphalos is wedged the iron blade of a knife (Fig. 8),

<sup>1</sup> *De def. orac.*, 51.    <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 210, n. 2.    <sup>3</sup> *Bis. Acc. I.*    <sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 76-78, Figs. 64-69.

<sup>5</sup> The position of Omphalos and tripod indicated on the slab, is exactly that shown on the relief in Athens (fig. 3). It is possible that the phrase, *ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος* (Plato, *Rep.* IV, p. 427 c.), should be translated "seated above the omphalos," not "on the omphalos."    <sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

with two iron nails driven in between it and the stone. All this M. Courby thinks was an attempt, at a late period, to wedge more tightly the shaft that he reconstructs in the hole. Aside from the fact that a mast set in so deep a socket would hardly need wedging, the whole combination of blade and nails is too crude an arrangement to be conceivably the work of hands trying to repair or improve the Omphalos. It seems not the work of restorers but of vandals. I would suggest that the knife blade was inserted to extract a metal lining from the hole, and that having become stuck fast there, the nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The lining tube has gone; it must have been of bronze or other metal more precious than the knife blade.

What could be the purpose of this tube or pipe running from the crypt up through



FIG. 8a.—DELPHI. POROS OMPHALOS

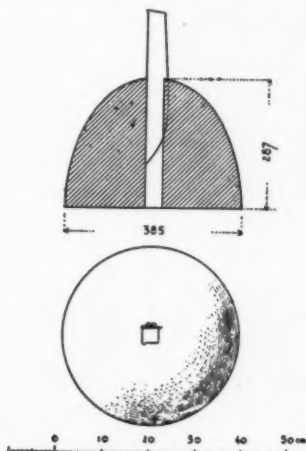


FIG. 8b.—PLAN AND SECTION

the floor and through the Omphalos? M. Courby, who places a tomb of Dionysos where I have placed the tripod, with an attendant altar above the hole, thinks that the *ὀπαῖον* was to allow the blood of victims to flow down and impregnate the earth. The explanation is reasonable, though I know of no parallel example of a Greek altar with an internal drain; but if the prophetic tripod instead of a tomb were in the adjoining space, then the purpose of the hole must have been quite different. The idea suggests itself that the pipe served to convey the inspiring fumes to the feet of the Pythoness. There is no existing statement that the *πνεῦμα* came through the Omphalos, but there is evidence that it arose beneath the tripod,<sup>1</sup> and circumstantial evidence that the Omphalos stood close beside, and below. The "breath" is repeatedly said to have come from the *στόμα γῆς* and the *stoma* and Omphalos are almost interchangeably indicated as the center of the earth. For both to hold this position, they could not be far apart; strictly speaking one would have to

<sup>1</sup> The position of the Pythia seated on the tripod, in relation to a stream of vapor issuing from the adjacent omphalos, is vividly indicated in a scholion on Aristophanes, *Plut.*, 39.

be directly above the other.<sup>1</sup> There is a curious remark of the Scholiast on Lucian;<sup>2</sup> "the chasm is called the *umbilicus* of the earth because the air ascending from it and forming a link with heaven holds the earth suspended." The simile may explain why the pointed stone, with a column of vapor arising from it, was called the Omphalos.

The ancients believed that the vapor which came forth beneath the tripod, issued from a hole in the earth. Excavation has shown there never was such a hole beneath the temple,<sup>3</sup> and at Delphi volcanic gases or springs are quite unknown. Since the vapor is well attested, it must have been artificially created, as the various descriptions indicate. It was held to be mephitic, was called a "cold breath,"<sup>4</sup> a perfume of the utmost fragrance.<sup>5</sup> To pipe artificial vapor from a hole in solid rock is a difficult undertaking, but to pipe it through a hole in a floor built over an *antron* is not difficult at all. To one seeing the vapor rise from the floor and at the same time, through some open space, seeing that there was a hollow cave beneath, the effect would be quite convincing. To complete the evidence we have the holes through the pavement slab of the edicule and through the Omphalos.

These points force one to the conclusion that M. Courby has discovered not only the most sacred object in Delphi, the Omphalos of the earth, but that without recognizing it he has found also the slab on which both it and the other holy of holies, the prophetic tripod, stood in the *adyton*. As for the Delphic ritual, I suspect that when the Pythia went down into the crypt ostensibly to get the water of Kassotis, she actually lit a brazier there, and then coming up again and mounting upon the tripod, inhaled the fumes piped through the floor beneath her feet.

Just what the nature of the fumes was we cannot tell. Plutarch<sup>6</sup> comments on the fact that instead of burning sweet-smelling incense, the Pythia used an ill-smelling combination of barley meal and laurel. Though unpleasant, barley smoke would hardly cause delirium, and laurel is quite harmless; possibly for her private inhalation, the priestess added some of the hemp seed used by the Scythians to produce intoxication;<sup>7</sup> possibly also among the laurel leaves the Pythia chewed, were some of the highly poisonous oleander which resembles laurel, and is called *rhododaphne* by the Greeks to-day. The toxic element of this plant is a heart stimulant akin to digitalis in action.<sup>8</sup> It does not by itself produce delirium, but what the result would be when mixed with fumes of hashish I cannot say, nor unless someone else conducts the experiment, do I ever expect to know.

LEICESTER B. HOLLAND

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

<sup>1</sup> Pindar refers (fr. 45, Boeckh = 53, Bergk.) πολύβατον οἷτ' ἄστιος ὀμφαλὸν θύοντα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθήναις, to the "smoking omphalos" of Athens; this phrase has been variously interpreted. To my mind it signifies graphically the Acropolis (called the omphalos of Attica) with the smoke of sacrifice rising from it. The unusual expression may, however, have been suggested by a "smoking omphalos" at Delphi. <sup>2</sup> *Pharsala*, p. 157, 21 ff., ed. Usener. <sup>3</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, Vol. II, fasc. I, pp. 65-66.

<sup>4</sup> Justin, XXIV, 6, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *De def. orac.*, 50.

<sup>6</sup> *De Pyth. or.*, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. IV, 75.

<sup>8</sup> F. W. Wilson, *Oleander Poisoning of Live-stock*, University of Arizona, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 59, April 1909; cf. *Dispensatory of the U. S. of America*, s.v. *Nerium*.



## LA GRANDE ISCRIZIONE BACCHICA DEL METROPOLITAN MUSEUM \*

### PART I—TAVOLE XXVII–XXIX

Io debbo la conoscenza di questo nuovo documento del culto di Bacco al Prof. Gioacchino Mancini, Direttore dei R. R. Musei Italiani, che assai liberalmente mise a mia disposizione alla fine del 1926 fotografie e calchi dell'iscrizione. Potei subito rendermi conto dell'importanza del ritrovamento e comunicare i primi risultati delle mie indagini, rivolte—allora—soprattutto al lato religioso dell'iscrizione, in una riunione privata, tenuta a Roma, alla quale partecipavano fra altri la Prof. Margarete Biebered ed il Dr. Franz Messerschmidt. In quella riunione fu posto decisamente il problema della cronologia e gli argomenti paleografici allora addotti valsero ad avviare alla soluzione del problema. Era questo un punto assai importante da fissare di fronte ad un documento del culto di Dioniso, rinvenuto a Roma, che non tradiva influenze orientali, come ci si sarebbe pur dovuto attendere, in base alla sua età (al più presto ai primi del II° secolo dopo Cr.<sup>1</sup>).

Contemporaneamente io davo notizie del nuovo testo a Franz Cumont, che subito ne fece oggetto di una sua comunicazione all'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.<sup>2</sup> Poco dopo, riuscivo ad identificare il personaggio principale dell'iscrizione e con ciò il problema della cronologia era definitivamente risolto. A questo punto l'illustrazione dell'iscrizione pareva sufficientemente matura, e così, per le premure di Walter Amelung, si convenne che io ne dessi subito il testo ed un primo commento, nelle *Roemische Mitteilungen*.

Più tardi l'iscrizione andava a far parte delle collezioni del Metropolitan Museum di Nuova York. Michael Rostovtzeff in una sua conferenza preannunciava la mia pubblicazione e dava nuovi particolari sul testo.<sup>3</sup> Ancora Franz Cumont, nella quarta edizione delle sue *Religions Orientales*,<sup>4</sup> aggiungeva, in appendice, un capitolo sui Misteri di Bacco a Roma, e la nuova iscrizione sotto più di un aspetto veniva ricordata.

Le notizie pubblicate dal Rostovtzeff e dal Cumont non rimasero senza eco. Ulrich von Wilamowitz, che stava scrivendo la sua nuova opera sulle credenze religiose dei Greci, fece appello alla mia cortesia per conoscere più da vicino il nuovo testo. Gli parve tanto importante e ne ritenne così urgente la pubblicazione che

\* These articles on the Bacchic Inscription in the Metropolitan Museum of Art came to the JOURNAL through the good offices of G. M. A. Richter of the Museum. The drawings of the inscriptions, reproduced in pls. XXVII–XXIX, were traced from squeezes and are the work of Lindsley Hall of the Museum staff. They have been compared letter for letter with the stone by C. Alexander.

Since the inscription is reproduced in facsimile, the word *sic* has not been used after words misspelled on the stone. For omissions of the horizontal stroke (causing *a*, *e*, *o* to read *λ*, *σ*, *ο* for example) and for other peculiarities of the stone, the reader is referred to the Alphabetical Index of Names for the author's interpretation. The enumeration of the columns and of the names is Sig. Vogliano's.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fr. Messerschmidt in *Gnomon*, III, 1927, pp. 250 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.* 1927, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Mythic Italy*, New York, 1927, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Religions Orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1929, pp. 199 ff.

m'invitò a preparare una memoria definitiva per le *Abhandlungen* dell'Accademia Prussiana. Sopravvenne la grave malattia del Wilamowitz, poi la morte di lui,<sup>1</sup> e tutto rimase in sospeso. D'altro canto la Direzione del Metropolitan Museum, a mezzo di Robert Zahn, mi faceva premura perchè la pubblicazione preannunciata venisse condotta a termine. Era però ben chiaro che io, dopo quanto già era stato scritto, non potessi più accontentarmi di una pubblicazione provvisoria, quale era stata quella in primo tempo progettata per le *Roemische Mitteilungen*. L'interesse degli studi esigeva che si dovesse dare oramai dell'iscrizione un testo definitivo ed un commentario esauriente.

Senonchè io, distratto da altri lavori, non potevo in nessun modo impegnarmi a scriverlo. Ricorsi perciò a Franz Cumont perchè volesse accettare da me la parte del lavoro che io avrei potuto condurre a termine senza troppe difficoltà, con la preghiera di sobbarcarsi alla illustrazione religiosa dell'epigrafe. Franz Cumont accolse benevolmente la mia preghiera e non sarà mai ringraziato abbastanza.

Così è nato l'attuale lavoro. Anche in questa occasione sono stato largamente sovvenuto dall'aiuto di molti studiosi, come Elias Bickermann, il defunto Hermann Dessau, Kurt Latte, Hiller von Gaertringen, Lothar Wickert, Christine Alexander, Benvenuto A. Terracini. Il redattore principale della *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Arthur Stein, ripetutamente ha risposto ai miei quesiti in materia prosopografica, mettendo a mia disposizione con ogni generosità i dati raccolti per la nuova edizione della *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.

La nuova epigrafe coinvolgeva ricerche molto vaste in materia di onomastica. Con quasi quattro cento nomi propri, riportantisi non soltanto al mondo greco-romano, ma anche a paesi barbari, si rendevano necessarie ricerche molto approfondite. In tale lavoro sono stato assistito da un mio giovane amico, il *cand. phil.* Otfried Müller (Berlino) che sentitamente ringrazio.

#### IL MONUMENTO E LA SUA IMPORTANZA

L'iscrizione figura su tre facce (quella di fronte e le due laterali) di una base di marmo, sulla quale originariamente poggiava la statua di Pompeia Agrippinilla, la moglie di M. Gavio Squilla Gallicano, console nel 150 di Cr. L'altezza della base è di cm. 83, la larghezza della faccia principale è di cm. 56, quella delle facce laterali è di cm. 44.

L'iscrizione ci offre la dedica, e, sotto, distribuiti nelle varie categorie, gli affiliati ad un thiaso bacchico, di cui Agrippinilla era una delle sacerdotesse. Due facce dell'iscrizione sono quasi integre, mentre la terza ha subito gravi iatture, che ci hanno

<sup>1</sup> L'iscrizione fuggevolmente toccata dal Wilamowitz nella illustrazione del rilievo di una tomba rinvenuta a Fiumicino (*Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, N. S., VII, 1929, pp. 997 ff.) è stata particolarmente ricordata nel capitolo sui misteri di Dioniso (p. 380) del secondo volume dell'opera sua *"Der Glaube der Hellenen,"* uscito postumo.

Non è senza commozione che io rievoco l'ultima mia visita al grande vegliardo, avvenuta poche settimane prima della sua morte. Quasi presago della fine imminente mi volle restituire allora il mio manoscritto dell'iscrizione. Dalle annotazioni apposte alle mie pagine potei constatare l'interesse che vi aveva speso! E questo egli aveva fatto in giorni in cui, se pure il male gli dava una tregua, tutto quanto non riguardasse direttamente la sua nuova opera avrebbe dovuto rimanergli estraneo. Così diceva e scriveva di voler fare; ma in realtà, anche debilitato nelle forze, era condotto, per natura sua, a non sottrarsi a quella ricerca, che era stata la gioia di tutta la sua vita. Have pia anima!

# ΠΠΕΙΜΙΛΛΑΝΤΗΝΙΕΡΕΙΑΝΜΥΣΤΑΙ ΟΙΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΙ

PEINOSHPPOC	ΦΛΩΡΟ	C	ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΛΩCΕCΩC	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ	C	
ΗΓΙΛΑΔΑΔΟΧΟC			ΒΑΚΧΙ	C	ΕΥΤΥΧΑ	C
ΙΕΡΕΙC			ΕΛΕΝ	H	ΕΠΑΙΝΕΤΟ	C
ΑΛΛΙΚΑΝΟ	C	KONΩ	ΧΑΡΙ	C	55ΑΒΑCΚΑΝΤΟ	C
ΑΛΛΙΚΑΝΟ	C	ΑΡΧΙΒΑCCAPOI	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ	C	ΗΔΟΝ	H
ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟ	C	ΧΑΙΡΗΜΩ	5ΛΑΡ	A	ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟ	C
5ΟΡΦΙΤΟ	C	ΓΑΑΝΟ	CΟΦΙΑ	C	ΕΥΔΟ	C
ΤΕΡΤΥΛΛΟ	C		ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟ	C	ΑΜΕΘΥCΤΟ	C
ΟΡΦΙΤΟ	C		ΧΡΥCΟΠΑΙ	C	60ΑΘΥΡΜ	A
ΚΕΛΑCΟ	C	ΑΜΦΙΘΑΛΛΕΙ	CΕΟΥΗΡΟ	C	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩ	N
		ΛΑΤΡΙΟ	10ΙCΙΩ	N	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΥCΤΟ	C
		MENANΔΡΟ	ΕΥΩΠΟ	C	ΚΡΗCΚΗΝ	C
			ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟC	H	ΙΟΥCΤ	A
		ΛΙΚΝΑΦΟΡΟΙ	ΚΩΜΙΚ	A	65ΝΕΠΩ	C
		ΚΑΛΛΙCΤ	ΕΥΦΗΜΙ	A	ΑΡΤΕΜΕΙCΙ	A
		ΕΥΤΥΧΙ	15ΕΛΕΝ	H	ΚΕΝΤΑΥΡΟ	C
		3ΝΙΚ	ΑΦΡΟΔΙCΙ	A	ΠΙΤΤΥ	C
			ΙΟΥΛΙΑΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ	H	ΙCΙΑΩΡΟ	C
		ΦΑΛΛΟΦΟΡΟC	ΖΩCΙΜ	A	70ΙΛΑΡΙΩ	N
ΙΕΡΕΙΑΙ		ΚΑΜΙΑΝΑΝ	ΑΜΑΝΑ	A	ΜΥΡΩ	N
ΜΑΛΙΟΛ	A		20ΕΥΗΛΟΥ	C	CΥΜΦΕΡΟΥC	A
ΜΑΛΙΟΛ	A	ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΙ	ΝΙΚΟΤΕΛΕΙ	A	ΖΩΤΙΚΟ	C
		ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟ	ΘΥΓΙΑ	C	ΠΟΤΕΝΤΕΙΝ	A
		ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΩ	ΜΑΡΚΙ	A	75CΟΥΚΕC	A
			ΖΩCΙΜ	H	ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟ	C
ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗC			25ΑΝΘΟΥC	A	ΝΑΡΚΙCCO	C
ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥ	C	ΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΩΝ	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ	N	ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟ	C
ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΙ		ΑΤΙΜΗΤΟ	ΕΡΜΗΤΙΩ	N	CΥΦΡΟΙΝΟ	C
ΓΑΛΛΙΚΑΝΟ	C	ΑΡΧΙΝΕΑΝΙCΚΟΙ	ΘΡΕΠΤ	C	80ΤΡΟΦΙΜ	H
ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟ	C	ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟ	ΧΕΛΕΙΑΩ	N	ΕΡΜΗ	C
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟCΚΑΙ			30ΙΡΙ	C	ΚΥΝΤΙΛΙΑΝΟC	C
CΕΓΛΗΝΟΚΟCΜΟC		ΑΡΧΙΒΑCCAΡΑΙ	ΦΕΡΡ	A	ΚΛΗΜΗΝ	C
CΕΡΗΝΟ	C	ΠΟΘΟΥC	CΕΙΓΗΡΟ	C	ΒΑCCIΛΑ	A
ΚΙCΤΑΦΟΡΟΙ		CΥΜΦΕΡΟΥC	ΚΑΡΠΟ	C	85ΙΡΗΝΑΙΟ	C
ΦΙΑΗΤ	H	ΒΑΚΧΙ	ΑCΠΑCΙ	A	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙ	C
3CΑΒΕΙΝ	A	4ΒΑCCAPI	35ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΟ	C	ΠΩΛΛΙΩ	N
3ΕΦΕCΙ	A		ΔΗΜΟCΘΕΝΗC	C	ΕΥΚΑΡΠΙ	A
			ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟ	C	ΠΑΝΘΕΙ	A
			ΕΤΑΙΡΟ	C	90ΥΓΕΙ	A
			ΤΡΩΙΛΟ	C		
ΑΡΧΙΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΙ		ΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΙ	40ΠΡΟΥΔΗ	C		
CΑΒΕΙΝΙΑΝΟ	C	ΝΙΚΟΛΑCΩ	ΚΥΚΝΟ	C		
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΑΗ	C	ΑΒΑCΚΑΝΤΙΩ	ΑΦΡΟΔΙCΙ	A		
3ΑΥΓΙΑΝΩ	N	CΕΜΝΟ	ΝΗΡΕΟΥ	C		
		ΕΥΤΥΧΗ	ΑΠΕ	P		
		5ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΟ	45ΕΥΝΟΥ	C		
		ΛΟΥΓΕΝΝΟ	CΕΛΗΝ	H		
ΒΟΥΚΦΑΟΙΕΡΟΙ		ΤΥΧΙΚΟ	ΒΕΛΛ	A		
ΧΡΥCΟΓΟΝΟ	C	ΚΑΛΛΙΚΑΗ	CΤΕΦΑΝΟ	C		
ΜΕΛΑΓΚΟΜΑ	C	ΠΡΕΙCΚΙΑΝΟ	ΡΟΥΦΕΙΝ	A		
ΚΑΙΝΟ	C	10ΕΙΡΗΝΑΤΟ	50ΧΑΡΙΤΙΝΟ	C		
ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟ	C	ΚΑΛΛΙCΤΟ				
5ΠΑΜΜΟΥCΟ	C					
ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟ	C					
ΚΟΙΤΟΝΙΚΙΑΝΟC	C					

COL. I

COL. II

COL. III

COL. IV

PLATE I. BACCHIC INSCRIPTION

The Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
PLATE XXVII

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sottratto un certo numero di nomi propri, ma che per fortuna hanno rispettato la maggior parte delle denominazioni delle varie categorie dei *μῦσται*.<sup>1</sup> Veniamo così a conoscere per la prima volta la formazione di un sodalizio bacchico, con precisione di funzioni, dalle più alte alle più modeste. A prescindere dall'interesse speciale per la storia delle religioni, acquistiamo un sussidio per leggere ed interpretare molte rappresentazioni figurate che si ispirano al culto bacchico.

Degli affiliati al thiaso, più di trecento sono Greci provenienti dall'Asia, dalle isole e da varie regioni della Grecia, gli altri sono barbari, poco più di 70 sono romani. Acquistiamo così un cospicuo materiale linguistico e, meno pochi casi, dove la corruzione è evidente, sicuramente tramandato. Anche per questo lato l'iscrizione si presenta quindi particolarmente interessante.

Con l'identificazione del personaggio, in cui onore la statua era stata elevata, Pompeia Agrippinilla, si è riusciti a stabilire che le persone elencate all'inizio dell'iscrizione, nelle più alte funzioni del sodalizio, sono dei personaggi romani appartenenti ad una famiglia romana, ben nota, che ripeteva le sue origini dal greco Teofane di Mitilene, amico di Pompeo e storiografo delle gesta di lui, divenuto a sua volta romano ed il cui nome figura associato alle vicende di cittadini romani e financo a quelle della casa regnante di Egitto.

I discendenti di questa famiglia, dopo la persecuzione che ebbe a subire per opera di Tiberio, con bandi ed uccisioni, ritroviamo di nuovo a Roma, alla metà del secondo secolo, associati ad altri romani dei più nobili casati.

#### LOCALITÀ DEL RITROVAMENTO DEL MONUMENTO

Il luogo del ritrovamento rimane incerto. La pietra è rimasta a lungo dimenticata nel magazzino di un antiquario romano. In un primo tempo, si disse che essa proveniva dall'antica Tusculum. Una maggiore precisazione, a prescindere dall'importanza nei rispetti di altri ritrovamenti archeologici ed epigrafici che potessero essere stati fatti nella località, poteva portarci alla scoperta del luogo dove il nostro sodalizio celebrava il suo culto, cioè in quell'antro di cui la nostra iscrizione dà i nomi dei custodi.<sup>2</sup>

Furono fatte pertanto delle indagini e ad esse si interessò il precitato Direttore Mancini. In base alle notizie da lui raccolte dalla bocca dell'antiquario romano, che a suo tempo aveva comperato la pietra, questa risulterebbe trovata nei pressi della fermata *al Vermicino*,<sup>3</sup> sulla Via Tusculana, all'inizio del pendio che portò alla collina di Frascati. Altre notizie la darebbero invece rinvenuta in una vigna a due chilometri da Torre Nova, fra Via Labicana (Casilina) e la Via Latina. Non si tratta di notizie propriamente discordi; è probabile anzi che si possano conciliare, se si avrà interesse a non deviare le ricerche. Certo, a qualche chilometro a Nord, trovasi l'abitato di Galliciano, e tra le varie ipotesi emesse sulla origine del nome, vi è quella, assai plausibile, che si trattasse *ab antiquo* di un fondo appartenente ad un

<sup>1</sup> Cf. tuttavia, *infra*, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Il Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* LI, 1927, p. 455, ha anche ricordato le grotte artificiali destinate al culto di Dioniso. Speriamo che nel caso nostro non colga nel segno!

<sup>3</sup> Per questa località, cf. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna*, 1927, p. 162.



Gallicanus.<sup>1</sup> E, nella nostra epigrafe, come vedremo, i Gallicani hanno una parte molto importante.

#### PALEOGRAFIA DEL MONUMENTO

Paleograficamente non c'è nulla di speciale da osservare. L'iscrizione è stata incisa a Roma, ma il lapicida qua e là si ispira a tipi dell'epigrafia latina (si osservino e.g. gli epsilon). Posto ciò, direi che il lapicida fu un romano piuttosto che un greco. Le grafie adottate nel riprodurre i nomi latini sono abbastanza conseguenti. Normali sono le trascrizioni di quelli greci. Di errori ne troviamo relativamente pochi. Fra segni caratteristici, ricordo la dièresi sullo *iota*, in base alla quale non si può far risalire l'epigrafe oltre la metà del secondo secolo di Cristo.<sup>2</sup>

La disposizione assegnata dal lapicida alla lettera finale di ogni nome proprio, distaccandola dal corpo del nome, per far cadere tutte queste finali in una sola linea verticale, trova analogie precise nell'epigrafia latina; meno frequente e meno rigidamente applicata è nell'epigrafia greca.<sup>3</sup>

Le varie categorie di *μύσται*, ciascuna contrassegnata dal nome della gerarchia, sono spesso assai distanziate le une dalle altre. Tale procedimento potrebbe sembrare determinato dal bisogno di dovere eventualmente riparare all'omissione di qualche nome. Ma non sarà questo il solo motivo; piuttosto si dovrà anche pensare che dovendosi riempire le tre facce del monumento si dovesse ricorrere a tale espediente per dare l'apparenza di colmarle sufficientemente tutt'e tre.

I *μύσται*, meno in due casi di donne romane, dove abbiamo nome e cognome, sono tutti indifferentemente indicati con un solo nome, senza il patronimico per i greci, e col solo cognome per quelli romani. Si dovrà forse ravvisare una pratica di culto, che in certo senso adeguava tutti nell'interno del sodalizio. (Cf. *infra*, p. 235.)

#### LA DEDICA DEL MONUMENTO

Nella faccia principale, in testa, si legge la dedica:

ΑΓΡΥΠΠΤΕΙΝΙΑΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ ΜΥΣΤΑΙ  
ΟΙ ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΙ

Altri nomi come Appinilla o Sappinilla sarebbero ben composti e di per sé accettabili; ma anche se fossero testimoniatati—ciò che non è—andrebbero esclusi qui, perchè la lacuna all'inizio comporta un maggior numero di lettere.

A rigore, qui ci si aspetterebbe *οἱ μύσται οἱ ὑπογεγραμ.* Una iscrizione della Panfilia, ove abbiamo un elenco di affiliati ad un thiaso della *Magna Mater*, va ancora più oltre, scrivendo addirittura: Τῇ Μητρί[ρι θεᾷ ἐπηκόω ὁρεῖα | τὸ ἀναδ<υ>τήριον κα[τεσκευάσεν θιασος | αὐτῆς ὑπογεγραμ[μ]ένοι · ἀρχιερασίτης Σά[μος κτλ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tomasetti, *La Campagna Romana*, III, pp. 516 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Nelle iscrizioni attiche non si risale oltre la metà del II° secolo: così almeno dalle statistiche del Larfeld.

<sup>3</sup> Per esempio nelle liste di militari, di Roma (*C.I.L.* VI, 1056 (a. 205), 1057, 1058, 1060 (a. 198–210), 2375a (a. 119–120), 2375b, 2375c, 2377, 2378, 2379a, b, ff., 3884 (a. 197–198), ed in altre ancora), della provincia (e.g., *C.I.L.* VIII, 2562 [Numidia]), e soprattutto negli elenchi di membri di sodalizi (e.g., *C.I.L.* XIV, 250 (a. 152), 251 (a. 192), 255 ff.).

Nei testi epigrafici greci la trovo a Pergamo (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, II, p. 359, n. 567 ed anche a p. 360, n. 570). Cf. anche M. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.* 35 (1910), pp. 423–428, nn. 11, 13, 14 (almeno se ci si deve fidare delle riproduzioni a stampa, del resto molto imperfette).

<sup>4</sup> C. Moretti, *Ann. Scuola Arch. Italiana*, VI–VII, p. 553.

ΒΑΚΧΟΙ·ΑΠΟ	11 ΦΟΡΤΟΥΝΑΤΟ C	57 ΕΚΛΟΓΟ C
ΚΑΤΑΖΩCΕΩC	ΚΑΡΤΟ C	ΟΥΕΝΟΥCΤΟ C
ΠΡΕΙΜΙΤΕΙΒΟ C	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟ C	ΤΥΧΙΚΟ C
ΝΙΚΩ C	ΓΑΛΗΝΟ C	60 ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΗ C
ΣΑΤΥΡΙCΚΟ C	15 ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟ C	ΟΥΙΚΤΩ P
ΕΝΤΙCΤΟ C	ΕΥΤΥΧΑ C	ΝΙΚΩ N
5 ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟ C	ΕΠΑΝΟΔΟ C	ΙΚΜΕΝΟ C
ΜΗΝΑ C	ΑΦΡΟΔΙCΙΟ C	ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟ C
CΟΖΟΜΕΝΟ C	CΥΜΦΩΝΟ C	65 ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗ C
ΕΥΤΥΧΗ C	20 CΤΕΦΑΝΙΩΝ	ΗΦΑΙCΤΑ C
ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟ C	ΠΑΜΦΙΛΑ C	ΑΔΒΑΝΟ C
10 ΥΛΛΟ C	ΓΕΜΕΛΛΙΩΝ	CΠΟΡΟ C
ΑΒΑCΚΑΝΤΟ C	ΠΑΓΚΑΡΠΟC	ΜΥΡΩ N
ΑΚΙΝΔΥΝΟ C	ΝΙΚΙΑ C	70 ΑΥCΕΡΤΩ P
ΒΑΘΥΛΛΟ C	25 ΚΟΡΟ C	ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΗ C
ΦΗΛΙ C	ΕΥΚΑΡΠΑ C	ΡΗΝΟ C
15 ΑΥCΙΜΟ C	ΦΙΛΗΤΟ C	ΜΥΡCΟ C
	ΜΑΡΚΟ C	ΟΥΕΝΟΥCΤΟ C
	ΦΙΛΗΤΟ C	75 ΘΑΛΛΟ C
	30 ΕΥΤΥΧΟ C	ΕΥΧΑΡΗ C
	ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟC	ΓΕΝΕCΙΟ C
ΒΑΚΧΑΙ·ΑΠΟ	ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗC	ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥ C
ΚΑΤΑΖΩCΕΩC	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC	ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟ C
ΕΛΠΙ C	ΑΓΛΟΗΜΕΡΟC	80 ΦΗΛΙ C
CEIPH N	35 ΕΠΑΦΡΥΛΛΟ C	ΤΑΝΑΓΡΟ C
ΛΟΙΔ H	ΑΓΝΟ C	ΦΟΡΤΟΥΝΑΤΟ C
	ΑΓΛΟΗΜΕΡΟC	ΙΚΑΡΟ C
	ΕΥΛΓΓΕΛΟ C	ΒΟΥΔΙΟ N
	ΕΥΤΥΧΗ C	85 ΦΙΛΗΜΩ N
	40 CΚΙΝΔΙΟ N	ΠΙΘΑΝΟ C
	ΖΩCΙΜΑ C	ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟ C
	ΝΙΚΥΛΟ C	ΕΥΚΑΡΠΟ C
	ΝΙΚΩ N	ΔΕΚΙΒΑΛΟ C
	ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟC	90 ΜΑCΚΕΛΛΙΩΝ
ΙΕΡΟΙ·ΒΑΚΧΟΙ	45 ΕΡΜΙΑ C	ΑΡΑΤΩ P
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟ C	ΕΡΜΗ C	ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟ C
ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟ C	ΚΟΡΝΗΑΙΑΝΟC	ΕΥΤΥΧΗ C
ΑCΤΕΡΙΩ N	ΠΡΕΙΜΙΤΕΙΒΟC	ΑΤΤΑΛΟ C
ΠΕΛΟΠΙΟΗ C	ΖΩCΙΜΟ C	55 CΠΟΡΟ C
5 ΝΕΚΤΑΡΕΟ C	50 ΑΝΘΙΩ N	ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟ C
ΘΗΒΑΝΟ C	ΖΩCΙΜΟ C	CΑΛΕΡΝΟ C
ΔΙΟΓCΗΝΗ C	ΦΙΛΗΤΟ C	ΙΟΥΒΙΛΑΤΟ P
ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΟ C	ΠΡΟCΔΕΚΤΟC	CΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ C
ΔΙΟΝΥCΩΔΩΡΟC	ΑΓΛΟΗΜΕΡΟC	100 ΓΑΜΟ C
10 ΠΙΘΑΝΟ C	55 ΕΠΙΚΤΕΙΤΟ C	ΦΟΡΤΟΥΝΑΤΟ C
	CΩΤΗ P	

COL. V

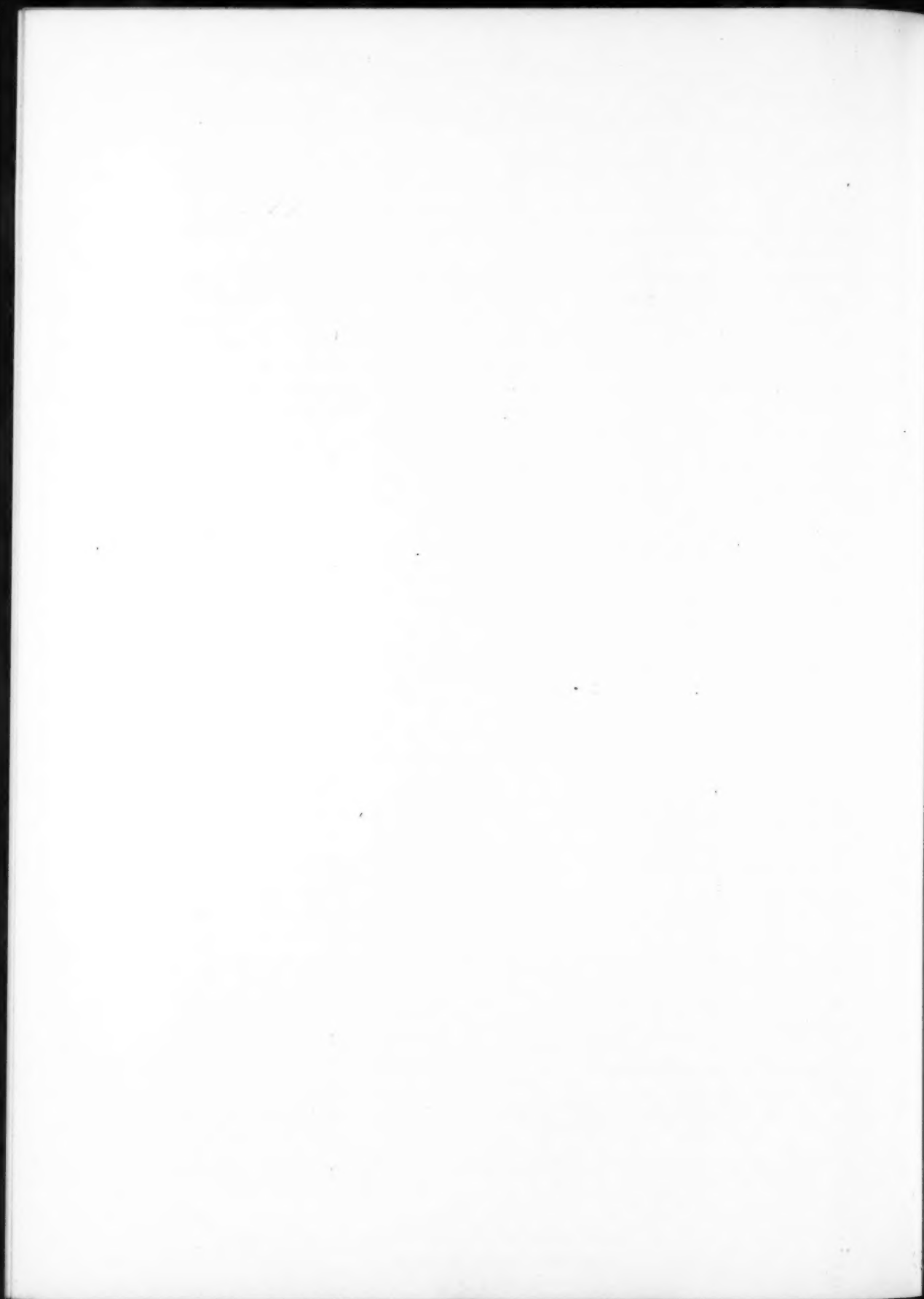
COL. VI

COL. VII

PLATE II. BACCHIC INSCRIPTION

The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

PLATE XXVIII





## IL PERSONALE DI CULTO DEL MONUMENTO

Abbiamo ventisei categorie di *μύσται*, stabilite nel loro ordine gerarchico. Nel sodalizio troviamo maschi e femmine. In due soli gradi gerarchici troviamo i sessi frammischiati, quello degli *ἀπὸ καταζώσεως* e quello dei *σειγῆται*; distinti in tutti gli altri.

Alcune categorie compaiono qui per la prima volta, così quella degli *ἀπὸ καταζώσεως* —seguita dalle due dei *βάκχοι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως* e delle *βάκχαι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως*.<sup>1</sup> Nuova pure quella dei *σειγῆται*, che figura come ultima (anche la parola era fino ad ora ignorata), e nuovi sono pure gli *ἀντροφύλακες* (anche la parola è nuova).

L'iscrizione ignora satiri e sileni,<sup>2</sup> ma troviamo un *ὑπουργός καὶ σειληνόκοσμος*, che avrà le funzioni di direttore dei cori dei sileni, come il *χορηγός* di una iscrizione bacchica di Pergamo.<sup>3</sup> Ma nella nostra non troviamo e.g. gli *ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι*, ed altre categorie, che figurano in altre iscrizioni bacchiche dell'Asia Minore e specialmente in una della Tracia (C.I.G. II, 2052, Apollonia), dove ricorrono, e.g. l'*ἀρχιμύστης*, l'*ἐστιάρχης* ed il *κρατηρίαρχος*(?). Si potrebbe forse osservare che nella nostra iscrizione nessuna delle funzioni si rapporta ai banchetti; tutto pare si riferisca piuttosto a rappresentazioni sacre ed a processioni del culto bacchico. Per questa constatazione andrebbe quindi esclusa la ingegnosa congettura del Wilamowitz, di voler ravvisare, nell'ultima categoria dei *μύσται*, dei *σειγῆται* (= *σιτῆται*), cioè *approvigionatori dei banchetti* (vedi *infra*, p. 262).

## PERSONALITÀ DEL THIASO—DATAZIONE DEL MONUMENTO

Alla testa dei *μύσται*, che hanno dedicato la statua alla sacerdotessa Agrippinilla, compare un Macrinus, come *ἥρωας*, una Cethegilla come *δαδούχος*, poi seguono nella rubrica degli *ιερείς* due Gallicani ed un Macrinus. Personaggi di tal cognome, Agrippinilla compresa, figurano fra i discendenti di Teofane di Mitilene,<sup>4</sup> precisamente nella metà del secondo secolo, dove già per ragioni paleografiche dovevamo collocare la nostra pietra. Ora una coincidenza che si estende a parecchie persone, è da escludere possa essere casuale.

A questo punto bisogna aprire una lunga parentesi, necessaria perchè i dati della *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, in ordine alla famiglia di Teofane, hanno subito

<sup>1</sup> I tre gruppi degli *ἀπὸ καταζώσεως*, quello misto, più elevato in grado, ed i due dei *βάκχοι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως* e delle *βάκχαι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως*, costituiscono, sommati insieme, un numero ragguardevole di 110 *μύσται*. Forse questi tre gruppi, a prescindere dalle cariche e dai sacerdoti, costituivano la parte eletta del sodalizio; quantunque i due gruppi, che li seguivano immediatamente, fossero numericamente molto superiori (gli *ιεροὶ βάκχοι* 186 (forse però andavano ripartiti in due (cf. *infra*, p. 258), le *βάκχαι* 47).

Io sarei propenso a considerare i tre gruppi degli *ἀπὸ καταζώσεως* come equivalenti al *κατάζωσμα* che ci fa conoscere una iscrizione bacchica della Lidia (Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, n. 8, pp. 10 ff.) ove troviamo che questo *κατάζωσμα* è investito di funzioni deliberative (ll. 2 ff. β[ου]λευσ[α]μένου τοῦ [κατ]αζώσματος (la parola è sicura, la ritroviamo anche più sotto alla l. 12) βωμ[ὸν] ἀναστῆσαι).

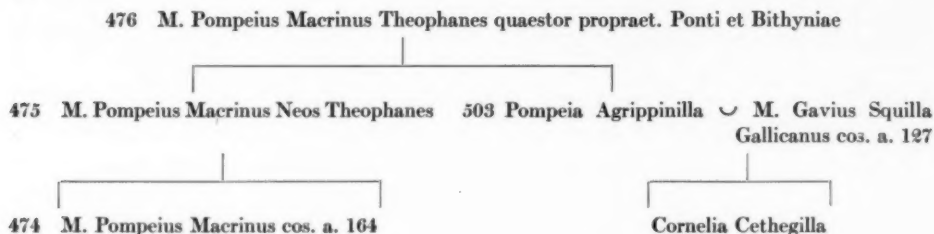
<sup>2</sup> I Sileni compaiono in varie iscrizioni di Pergamo (*Inscr. v. Perg.* 487). Cf. Luciano π. ὄρχ. 79: Ἡ μὲν γε βακχικὴ ὄρχησις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη, καίτοι σατυρικὴ οὖσα, οὕτω κεχειρωται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ, ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστον καιρὸν ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων κἀθῆνται δι' ἡμέρας τιτᾶνας καὶ κορυβάντας καὶ σατύρους καὶ βουκόλους ὄρῶντες. καὶ ὀρχοῦνται γε ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστῃ κτλ.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr. v. Perg.* 487.—Tuttavia cf. Cumont, *infra* p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Jacoby, *Fragm. der griech. Hist.*, II B, n. 188.

aggiunte e rettifiche. Questi nuovi dati vanno ora controllati al lume della nuova iscrizione.

Lo stemma dei discendenti di Teofane di Mitilene nella *P.I.R.* III, p. 67, offriva questi dati:



La prima aggiunta che va fatta è quella della persona di M. Cornelius Cethegus, che deve prendere il suo posto a fianco della sorella Cornelia Cethegilla. Tale dato è stato avanzato da R. Heberdey, in base ad una iscrizione ritrovata negli scavi del teatro di Efeso, e non pare possa essere contraddetto. L'iscrizione pubblicata nel *Hirschfelds Festschrift*, p. 444 (= *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, n. 68) suona:

Ἀγαθ]ῆ Τύχη  
 Κορνή]λιον  
 Κέθ]ηγον  
 πρε]σβευτήν  
 5 Ἀσ]ίας, ὡς Σ[κυ-  
 λ]λα Γαλλικα[νοῦ  
 τοῦ] ἀνθυπάτο[υ  
 βο]υ[λ]ῆς, δήμου  
 ψηφ]ίσματι

Un M. Cornelius Cethegus fu console nel 170, e che esso vada identificato con questo dell'iscrizione di Efeso sappiamo da Luciano (*Demonatte*, 30), quando ci apprende che il console Cornelius Cethegus era stato a suo tempo in Asia legato di suo padre proconsole<sup>1</sup>: né più né meno come è detto nell'iscrizione di Efeso. In base a questa identificazione, apparirà più verosimile che Cornelio Cetego, che fu—ripietiamo—console nel 170, sia stato piuttosto figlio del console Marco Gavio Squilla Gallicano, del 150, anziché di quello del 127.

Veniamo ora al padre di Pompeia Agrippinilla. Una iscrizione delle Terme di Lesbo (*I.G.* XII, 2,237=Dessau II, 8,825) ci dice che essa era figlia di un M. Pompeius Theophanes; un'altra di Mitilene (*I.G.* XII, 2,236) ce ne dà il nome più completo: M. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes. Ancora un'altra iscrizione di Mitilene, mutila nella parte inferiore, ci fa conoscere un M. Pompeius Macrinus νέος Theophanes (*I.G.* XII 2,235):

<sup>1</sup> Κεθῆγου δὲ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ, ὅποτε διὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆι πρεσβείων τῷ πατρὶ, πολλὰ καταγέλαστα καὶ λέγοντος καὶ ποιούντος, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἑταίρων τις ὁρῶν ταῦτα εἶλεν αὐτὸν μέγα κάθαρμα εἶναι, Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφρ' ὁ Δημῶναξ, οὐδὲ μέγα.

[Ὁ δᾶμος]  
 Μ. Π]ομπήϊον Μακρεῖ-  
 νο]ν, νέον Θεοφάνην,  
 κουαττορούιρον, τα-  
 5 μίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτ[η-  
 γον Πόντου καὶ Βειθυ-  
 νίας, δῆμαρχον, στρα-  
 τηγὸν δῆμου Ῥωμαί-  
 ω]ν, ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδοῦ  
 10 Λατεί]νης πρεσβε[υτήν, . . .

Questo M. Pompeius Macrinus, con la qualifica di νέος Θεοφάνης, va identificato con l'altro M. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes, padre di Agrippinilla? Pensava di sì, per esempio, il Paton (in *I.G.* XII 2, al n. 237), che però, come il von Rohden nella *P.I.R.*, considerava marito di Agrippinilla il Marco Gavio Squilla Gallicano, console nel 127. A sua volta il von Rohden ha fatto di questo M. Pompeius Macrinus νέος Theophanes un fratello di Agrippinilla, figli l'uno e l'altra del M. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes. Ma oggi abbiamo altro. Una iscrizione acefala di Tegea, *B.C.H.* 3, 272 (*P.I.R.* III, 497, 15), che ci conservava il *cursus honorum* di un personaggio, ha recuperato, ad opera di Hiller von Gaertringen (*I.G.* V. 2, 151) la parte superiore, per quanto frammentaria. Veniamo così a sapere che il nuovo personaggio è quello stesso M. Pompeius Macrinus νέος Theophanes, onorato nella base di Mitilene. E' però dubbio che si possa aggiungere qui la qualifica di νέος<sup>1</sup>, per quanto si tratti sicuramente della stessa persona, come mostra il *cursus honorum*.

Μ.]Πομπήϊο]ν Μάρκου?υῖον *Tribus*  
 . .]να Μακρεῖν]ον Θεοφάνην, δ'άν-  
 δρῶν, ταμίαν καὶ ἀ]ντιστρά-  
 τηγον Πόντου καὶ [Βειθυνίας,  
 5 δῆμαρχον, στρατηγὸν Ῥώμης,  
 ἐ[π]ιμελητ[ρ]ήν Λατεί]νης, ἡ[γ]ε-  
 μόνα λεγῶνος ἑκτῆς νεκηφό-  
 ρου, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστρ[ά]-  
 τηγον αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρο[ς]  
 10 Τραϊανοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ  
 Παρθικοῦ ἐπαρχείας Κιλικίας,  
 ἀνθύπατον Σικελίας, ὕπατον,  
 ἱερέα ἐν τοῖς Αὐγουσταλίοις,  
 ἱερέα ἐν τοῖς ἱε' ἀνδράσιν,

<sup>1</sup> Secondo la restituzione del Hiller:

[Μ] Πομπήϊο]ν νέον Θεοφάνην Κυ]-  
 [ρί]να Μακρεῖν]ον, τισσάρων ἀν]-  
 δρῶν, ταμίαν καὶ ἀ]ντιστρά-  
 τηγον Πόντου καὶ [Βειθυνίας κτλ.

Più verosimile mi sembra il v. Premierstein (*Jh. Oest. Arch.* I., XV, p. 208), che ho seguito integralmente.

15 ἀνθύπατον Ἀφρικος (l. Ἀφρικῆς), Μ. Πομπήϊος Εἰσῆς Αἰλιανὸς τὸν ἰδι-  
ον φίλον ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς)

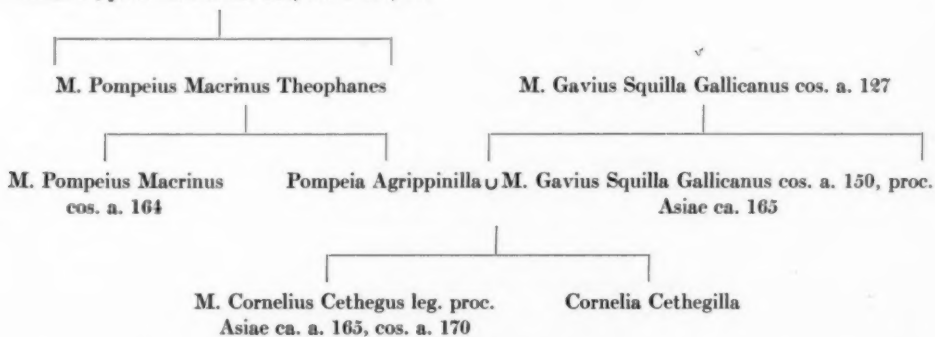
Le due iscrizioni si completano vicendevolmente; così in quella di Mitilene si supplirà πρεσβε[υτήν] λεγιῶνος ἑκτης νεικηφόρου.<sup>1</sup> Ma la iscrizione di Tegea ci permette di precisare alcune date del personaggio. Il monumento è elevato vivente l'imperatore Traiano. Ora sappiamo che egli ricevette i titoli di Dacico e di Partico fra il 116 e il 117; d'altra parte l'elevazione della provincia d'Africa a proconsolato cade nel 116, all'incirca un anno prima della morte di Traiano, che avviene il 10 Agosto 117. Dunque l'iscrizione di Tegea cade nel breve spazio che intercede dalla nomina di M. Pompeius Macrinus νέος Theophanes a proconsole d'Africa e la morte di Traiano. A tale data il nostro era uomo più che maturo.

Con lo spostamento in giù delle date di Pompeia Agrippinilla, che risulta moglie di Marco Gavio Squilla Gallicano, console nel 150, mentre il di lei figlio viene identificato nella persona di Marco Cornelio Cetego, console del 170, si deve concludere che difficilmente Agrippinilla potrà essere stata figlia di questo Marco Pompeo Macrino νέος Theophanes. E allora si pensa che la qualifica di νέος possa differenziare due personaggi omonimi: il padre di Agrippinilla sarebbe il Theophanes senza la qualifica di νέος, mentre questa si applicherebbe al padre di lui.

Rimangono ancora da collocare due personaggi, il M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus console del 127 ed il M. Pompeius Macrinus, console nel 164. Secondo lo Stein il primo potrebbe essere il padre del M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus, marito di Agrippinilla, il secondo un fratello di lei.

In base a questi dati lo stemma va rettificato nella seguente maniera:

M. Pompeius Macrinus νέος Theophanes  
cos. a. 99, procons. Africae 116/117 o 117/118



Torniamo ora alla nostra iscrizione. La dedica è fatta in onore di Agrippinilla da un thiaso bacchico. Abbiamo al posto d'onore i due nomi:

Μακρεῖνος ἥρωσ  
Κεθ]ηγίλλα δαδοῦχος

<sup>1</sup> Cf. il citato articolo del v. Premerstein, p. 208.

Nel gruppo dei sacerdoti che immediatamente segue, i primi tre elencati sono i seguenti:

Γαλλικανός

Γαλλικανός

Μακρέϊνος

Come si vede, ci muoviamo in un ambiente che ripete nomi noti nella famiglia di Pompeia Agrippinilla. Cethegilla, la *θαδούχος* è la figlia di lei. Uno dei Gallicani sarà il marito di Agrippinilla. Queste identificazioni sono sicure. Rimangono i due Macrini, l'uno sacerdote, l'altro detto *ἥρως*, ed il secondo dei Gallicani. Qui non si possono fare che delle ipotesi. Per il Macrino sacerdote si pensa, primo che ad ogni altro, a Marco Pompeo Macrino, fratello di Agrippinilla. Per il secondo Macrino, qualificato *ἥρως* e che, primo di tutti, si unisce agli altri membri del sodalizio per rendere onore a Pompeia Agrippinilla, nel vederlo associato a Cethegilla, si penserebbe piuttosto ad un giovane, per esempio ad un figlio—non altrimenti noto—di Marco Pompeo Macrino, fratello di Agrippinilla. Ma lo Stein non può pensare ad un *ἥρως* vivente, e propenderebbe ad identificarlo invece con il padre di Pompeia Agrippinilla, già morto ed eroizzato.

Ed ora una domanda. Il figlio di Agrippinilla, M. Cornelius Cethegus, come mai non viene nominato nell'iscrizione? Se era già morto avremmo un *terminus post quem*, rappresentato dalla data del consolato di lui, nell'anno 170. Ed allora il nonno paterno (il M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus, console nel 127), che abbiamo considerato come vivente alla data della nostra epigrafe, dovrebbe essere vecchio decrepito, centenne o giù di lì. D'altra parte sembra difficile ammettere che il figlio di Agrippinilla fosse escluso dal culto della famiglia, o che fosse tanto piccolo da non potere coprire una funzione nel sodalizio. Bisognerebbe in tal caso postulare una notevole differenza di età fra i due fratelli Cornelio Cetego e Cornelia Cethegilla. Lo Stein fa anche qui una ipotesi seducente. E perchè questo Cornelio Cetego non potrebbe celarsi dietro il secondo Gallicano? In questa famiglia di discendenti di Teofane di Mitilene troviamo parecchi *δμώνυμοι*: si tratterebbe di aggiungerne uno di più. D'altra parte è naturale ammettere che Marco Cornelio Cetego possa avere assunto anche uno dei cognomi del padre.

I dati che abbiamo raccolto, lasciano, pur troppo, adito a varie possibilità per determinare la cronologia della nostra iscrizione. Se per esempio il padre del Marco Gavio Squilla Gallicano (console nel 150), era ancora in buona età—mettiamo fra i 50 ed i 60 anni—i nipoti di lui, Cornelio Cetego e Cornelia Cethegilla dovevano essere in età tenerissima,<sup>1</sup> ciò che non credo possa conciliarsi, almeno in linea normale, con la qualifica di sacerdote che abbiamo assegnata al primo. Vogliamo dare a questi due, specialmente al primo, una età ragionevole—mettiamo 20 anni—per coprire la carica di *ιερεύς* ed allora al padre suo dovremmo assegnare per lo meno 50 anni ed 80 al nonno paterno: ciò che pur tuttavia sarebbe nelle possibilità umane.

Più equo sarà forse fissare un limite medio fra questi due estremi. Posto ciò

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ciò che è detto più oltre dal Cumont circa l'iniziazione dei fanciulli, a proposito dell'*archineaniskos*, p. 255.



si viene ad assegnare alla nostra epigrafe una data che sta a cavaliere della metà del secondo secolo.

Una datazione ancora più precisa potrebbe avere una grande importanza. Pompeia Agrippinilla aveva evidentemente delle benemeritenze in rapporto al culto di Dioniso. M. Bieber<sup>1</sup> pensa che la nostra potesse avere avuta una funzione non dissimile da quella delle tre Menadi, chiamate da Tebe a Magnesia per organizzare i thiasoi bacchici, oppure come la sacerdotessa che un epigramma di Mileto ci ha fatto conoscere.<sup>2</sup> Io vorrei andare oltre. Propenderei cioè a considerare Pompeia Agrippinilla addirittura come l'instauratrice in Roma del nuovo culto di Dioniso. Nessuna testimonianza mi pare parli contro.

Dopo i tre membri della famiglia di Agrippinilla, l'iscrizione annovera un Orfito, un Tertullo, poi ancora un Tertullo, e finalmente un Celso. Si tratta di cognomi particolarmente frequenti fra le persone distinte, specie fra i senatori di quel tempo. Si pensa naturalmente che dovessero sussistere rapporti assai stretti, forse anche di parentela, tra questi nuovi personaggi ed i familiari di Agrippinilla. Nel 165 troviamo, ad esempio, un console, Marco Gavio Orfito. Si può pensare ad un fratello del Marco Gavio Squilla Gallicano, console nel 150, e nel secondo Orfito ravvisare forse un suo figlio. I Tertulli ed i Celsi, invece, sono tanti, da non permettere nessuna identificazione con qualcuno di quelli a noi noti dalla *Prosopografia*. Troveremmo, per esempio, un *procurator*, G. Gavius Tertul(lus?) Peregrinus; ma non pare faccia al caso.

Dopo i sacerdoti abbiamo le sacerdotesse. Sono due, ed ambedue portano il cognome di Μαλιόλα. Piuttosto che al nome Maliola, diminutivo di Malius (o Mallius), sarà da pensare a *Manliola*, diminutivo di Manlius, riflettendo che nella trascrizione dei nomi latini in greco il gruppo «λ» è quasi ignorato. Conosciamo due Manliolae, una in Lusitania;<sup>3</sup> l'altra della Campania appartiene alla famiglia dei Glabroni: Acilia Manliola, figlia di Marco Acilio Faustino, console nel 210.<sup>4</sup> Naturalmente non possiamo scendere fino a questa; certo sarebbe comodo poter risalire più indietro e postulare le due Manliolae fra i membri di questa stessa nobilissima famiglia.

#### GLI ALTRI MEMBRI DEL THIASO

Dopo l'enumerazione dei sacerdoti e delle sacerdotesse viene lo ierofante nella persona di Agatopo. Il suo nome tradisce origine servile. Da questo punto i *graeculi* predominano, i nomi latini diventano minoranza; nomi romani di origine elevata si incontrano assai raramente.

Questa massa imponente di aderenti al sodalizio rappresenta il gruppo dei famuli delle famiglie di cui abbiamo trovato gli esponenti fra i gradi superiori della gerarchia. Non credo che occorra uscire da questa cerchia e vedervi degli estranei.<sup>5</sup> Il numero grande di queste persone non deve sorprendere se si pensa che abbiamo a

<sup>1</sup> *Jb. Arch.* I. 43, 1928, p. 319, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Wiegand, *Arch. Anz.* 1906, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* II, 128: Antonia L. f. Manliola.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* IX, 2333 (Piedimonte d'Alife), *Aciliae M. f. Manliolae C(larissimae) F(eminae), M. Acili(i) Glabron(is) Sen(ioris) Co(n)s(ulis)* (a. 152) *pronepti, M. Acili(i) Glabronis Co(n)s(ulis)* II (a. 186) *nepti, M. Acilii Faustini Co(n)s(ulis)* (a. 210) *filiae. Ordo decurionum.*

<sup>5</sup> Il Cumont però non esclude tale possibilità.

che fare con famiglie del rango di quella di Agrippinilla, che traeva le sue origini da un personaggio come Teofane di Mitilene. I discendenti di questi entrarono nell'ordine senatorio e raggiunsero le più alte magistrature. Basi onorifiche a Mitilene, a Prusa, ad Efeso, a Pergamo ecc., attestano la riconoscenza di città per atti munifici di membri di questa famiglia. Tanto splendore non poteva essere dissociato da una grande ricchezza. Ed il numero dei *famuli* ne era un segno.

Noi ci troviamo nella Roma del secondo secolo in un *milieu* di quattrocento persone, dove più di trecento sono greci. Siamo nel momento in cui il senato incomincia a reclutare dalla ricca borghesia delle provincie greche dell'oriente i suoi membri, che vengono a Roma con tutto il loro seguito, diventando un potente strumento di espansione dell'ellenismo.

A fianco dei più che trecento greci abbiamo soltanto poco più di 70 nomi di latini. Anche ammettendo che alcuni altri potessero esserci nel tratto perduto della pietra, il loro numero non potrebbe accrescersi di molto. Pochissimi invece sono i nomi barbari.

La maggior parte dei nomi tradisce origine servile.<sup>1</sup> Ma che fossero ancora schiavi al tempo della nostra epigrafe è improbabile. Vi erano senza dubbio dei liberti: ma distinguerli dagli altri è possibile solo nei casi in cui troviamo l'aggiunta del gentilizio al cognome.<sup>2</sup> Le funzioni che essi ricoprono nel sodalizio non sono una garanzia sufficiente per determinare piuttosto l'uno che l'altro stato. I *βουκόλοι*, gli *ἀρχιβουκόλοι*, appartengono alla plebe, se non addirittura al ceto servile. Nessuna meraviglia quindi che l'onomastica della nostra epigrafe sia in genere nota. Ma non mancano nomi rari ed anche sconosciuti, come tutti quelli barbari.

Dal Messerschmidt è stata avanzata la domanda se nella nostra epigrafe non si possano ravvisare dei *Kultnamen*.<sup>3</sup> Io non lo credo e le ragioni saranno esposte più oltre dal Cumont (p. 235).

In pochi casi abbiamo la possibilità di riunire in uno stesso personaggio più di una funzione di culto. Intanto si osserverà che i casi di omonimi sono piuttosto rari. Nessuno ad esempio penserà che uno dei Gallicani, che figura fra gli *ιερείς*, possa identificarsi col Gallicano incaricato, accanto ad un Dionisio, di portare la statua del Dio. Questo altro Gallicano sarà piuttosto uno schiavo od un liberto, che ha conservato il nome del suo padrone. Viceversa alcuni dei *σειγῆται* potrebbero identificarsi con alcuni dei *μύσται* omonimi che figurano nei diversi gradi di iniziazione. La stessa possibilità abbiamo pel Dionisio, che figura fra gli *θεοφόροι* e più sotto fra gli *ιεροὶ βάκχοι*, così pel *Τρόφιμος*, che appare fra i *πυρφόροι* e gli *ιεροὶ βάκχοι*. Il *Τυχικός* che appare fra gli *ιεροὶ βάκχοι* potrebbe pure coprire l'ufficio di *βουκόλος*. Difficilmente invece si potrà credere che la *Φιλήτη* possa essere ad un tempo *σειγῆτης* e *κιστοφόρος*. Si potrebbe dunque supporre che i *μύσται* quando venivano eletti ad una carica sacra per un tempo limitato, rimanessero tuttavia

<sup>1</sup> I nomi greci si possono facilmente far rientrare nelle categorie fissate dal Lambertz, (*Die griechischen Sklavennamen*, Wien 1907).

<sup>2</sup> I casi sono due: Iulia Eutychia e Valeria Aristina. Il perchè di questo trattamento non trova spiegazione. In questa epigrafe abbiamo casi di omonimia; ma non si fa nulla per evitare lo scambio di persone. Vicino a questa Iulia Eutychia ne abbiamo altre due senza aggiunta di sorta; viceversa non abbiamo che una sola Aristina.

<sup>3</sup> *Gnomon*, III, 1927, p. 250.

iscritti alla categoria permanente alla quale appartenevano. Però si potrebbe fare questa obiezione. La nostra lista ci dà l'elenco dei membri del thiaso che hanno contribuito col loro denaro all'erezione della statua di Agrippinilla; non pare quindi probabile che la stessa persona abbia versato due volte la sua quota, la prima per esempio come *θεοφόρος*, la seconda come *ιερός βάκχος*.

Pochissimi sono i nomi che tradiscono una sicura provenienza geografica.<sup>1</sup> Certo si pensa che la famiglia di Agrippinilla, se pure poteva attingere agli empori di vendita degli schiavi, come a Delo, avrà potuto rifornirsi là, dove per ragioni di dimora o di governo, i suoi membri vennero a trovarsi. Parecchi nomi sono difatti documentati in Asia ed a Mitilene, ma non nella misura che ci si aspetterebbe. M. Pompeius *νίος* Theophanes fu *proconsul Africae*. Orbene nessuno dei nomi tradisce origine africana. E sì che all'epoca della nostra epigrafe ci troviamo a 30 anni di distanza o poco più.<sup>2</sup>

In questa lista esistevano sicuramente dei nuclei familiari. Ma all'infuori di alcune preferenze nelle denominazioni, ciò che porterebbe a supporre l'esistenza di rapporti di parentela, non si può sottolineare altro.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀντιόχης, Ἀντίοχος, Βεθυνικός, Ἐφεσία, Θεβανός, Κάνωπος, Κόρινθος, Κρητική, Μυθονίς, Σμύρνα, Τάναγρος, Τράλλις.

<sup>2</sup> Appartenevano forse ad un altro sodalizio religioso?





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# INDICE DELLE CATEGORIE DI MYCTAI

- 'Αμφιθαλείς  
 \*άντροφύλακες  
 άρχιβασσάροι  
 \*άρχιβάσσαροι  
 5 άρχιβούκοι  
 \*άρχινεανισκοι (era però nota la trascrizione latina C.I.L. VI, 2180)  
 βάχχαι  
 [βάχχοι?] cfr. *infra*, p. 258  
 10 ιεροί βάχχοι  
 βάχχαι από \*καταζώσεως  
 βάχχοι από \*καταζώσεως  
 βουκόλοι  
 βουκόλοι ιεροί  
 δαδοῦχος  
 15 ήρωες  
 θεοφόροι  
 ίέρειαι  
 ίερείς  
 ίερομνήμων  
 20 ίεροφάντης  
 από \*καταζώσεως (scil. οί μύσται vel αί μύστ.) ma cfr. Cumont, *infra*, p. 256  
 κισταφόροι (sic! cfr. C.I.G. II, 2052)  
 λικναφόροι (sic! cfr. C.I.G. II, 2052)  
 πυρφόροι  
 25 \*σειγῆται  
 \*σειληνόκοσμος κ. ύπουργός  
 ύπουργός και \*σειληνόκοσμος  
 φαλλοφόρος  
 Sono contrassegnate da asterisco le parole non prima note.

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 Φίλητος (1)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 27  
 (2)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 29  
 (3)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 52  
 (4)—σειγ. 1  
 Φίλιππος—ἀ. καταζ. 52  
 Φιλόκαλος (1)—ἀ. καταζ. 35  
 (2)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 8  
 Φιλότας—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 164  
 Φλώρος [Florus]—βουκόλοι ιεροὶ. 8  
 Φοῖβος—σειγ. 15  
 Φορτουνάτος [Fortunatus]  
 (1)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 11  
 (2)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 82  
 (3)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 101  
 (4)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 142  
 (5)—ιεροὶ βάχχοι. 155

Χαιρέμων—ἀρχιβάσσαροι. 1  
 Χάρις—ἀ. καταζ. 3  
 Χαριτῖνος—ἀ. καταζ. 50  
 Χελειδών—ἀ. καταζ. 29  
 Χρυσόγονος—βουκόλοι ἱεροί. 1  
 Χρυσόπαις—ἀ. καταζ. 8

] φνρος—ἱεροὶ βάκχοι. 135  
 ] λας—ἱεροὶ βάκχοι. 186  
 ] νιανός—ἱεροὶ βάκχοι. 185  
 ] φνος—ἱεροὶ βάκχοι. 109  
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ACHILLE VOGLIANO

## LA GRANDE INSCRIPTION BACHIQUE DU METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

### II. COMMENTAIRE RELIGIEUX DE L'INSCRIPTION

#### PLANCHES XXX-XXXIII

LES recherches de notre collaborateur ont établi que la prêtresse à qui la base de Torre Nova était consacrée, et les principaux dignitaires du culte appartenaient à une grande famille romaine, descendant de Théophane de Mytilène, l'historiographe de Pompée. On sait que cet écrivain avait été divinisé par sa ville natale, qui l'honorait comme son "fondateur et sauveur"<sup>1</sup> et les relations de ses descendants, parvenus au faite des honneurs, ne furent jamais rompues avec leur pays d'origine, puisqu'une dédicace à Pompéia Agrippinilla et une autre à sa fille Céthégilla ont précisément été retrouvées à Lesbos.<sup>2</sup> Il n'est donc pas téméraire de supposer que cette illustre famille avait gardé dans cette île fertile des domaines, d'où elle tirait une partie de ses revenus.

Or, le culte de Bacchus était établi à Lesbos depuis une haute antiquité et il y resta toujours puissant.<sup>3</sup> On honorait au promontoire de Brisa, Dionysos Βρισαῖος, dont la vénération s'était propagée en Éolide et jusqu'à Smyrne;<sup>4</sup> à Méthymne, Dionysos Phallénos fut adoré par la cité sur l'ordre de la Pythie delphique. A Mytilène, les inscriptions et les monnaies attestent la popularité du dieu du vin et nous le retrouvons encore vénéré à Antissa et à Erésos. Son culte avait primitivement dans cette île un caractère cruel et sauvage, dont le souvenir ne s'était pas perdu. On se rappelait qu'autrefois des victimes humaines avait été sacrifiées à un dieu sanguinaire;<sup>5</sup> on racontait à Mytilène l'histoire atroce d'un prêtre impie dont les enfants avaient été immolés et qui dans sa fureur avait tué sa femme avec son thyrsos.<sup>6</sup> Le rite répugnant de l'omophagie, qui se conserva à Milet jusqu'au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère,<sup>7</sup> se maintint sans doute longtemps aussi à Lesbos. Certes avant l'époque romaine, cette barbarie primitive des bacchanales avait dû s'atténuer, ici comme partout ailleurs. Mais il subsiste ce fait que les mystères transportés à Rome par la famille d'Agrippinilla n'étaient pas de création récente, mais se rattachaient par leur origine à une très ancienne forme de la religion dionysiaque. C'est ce qui y explique la survivance d'archaïsmes comme le titre de "Héros" donné au chef du collège de Torre Nova, placé en tête de la liste.

Nous verrons en outre que certaines particularités de l'organisation sacerdotale

<sup>1</sup> Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>3</sup>, 752-754.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.* XII, 2, 236-237.

<sup>3</sup> Les témoignages ont été réunis dans la dissertation très méritoire de Quandt, *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto*, Halle, 1912, pp. 137-146.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.G.* 3160, 3176, 3190; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, p. 147; Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* I <sup>4</sup>, p. 678; Quandt, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* III, 42, 5 (I, p. 32, Stählin). Les mêmes sacrifices, où un homme était dépecé, se retrouvent dans les îles voisines de Chios et de Ténédos; cf. Preller-Robert, p. 693, n. 3; Farnell, *l.c.* V, p. 156 et 304, n. 86.

<sup>6</sup> Elien, *Var. Hist.*, XIII, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Diels dans le *Bericht VI* sur les fouilles de Milet (*Abhandl. der Akad. Berlin*, 1908), p. 23. Cf. Haussoullier, *Revue des études grecques*, XXXII, 1919, p. 265; Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 164 ff.

trahissent l'influence de celle d'Eleusis,<sup>1</sup> ce qui ne peut surprendre, si l'on se rappelle l'alliance étroite de Dionysos et des Deux Déesses dans les mystères attiques. Cette action de la religion athénienne a dû s'exercer sur notre culte bachique dans son pays d'origine avant son transfert à Rome, mais elle persista en Occident. Ce n'est probablement pas une coïncidence purement fortuite, si un beau sarcophage figurant l'initiation éleusinienne a été découvert précisément à Torre Nova.<sup>2</sup> Ce sarcophage, on l'a démontré, a été exécuté dans une ville d'Asie Mineure à l'époque des Antonins. On peut supposer, sans émettre une conjecture trop audacieuse, qu'il a été sculpté et importé pour un membre de la famille d'Agrippinilla, qui avait son domaine dans ce coin de la campagne romaine.

Nous avons tout d'abord à nous demander dans quel ordre sont énumérées les dignités et les charges de cette association cultuelle. On voit à première vue que la liste commence par les plus hautes et se termine par les plus modestes. Mais il n'y a aucun indice d'une hiérarchie rigide, dont on devrait successivement franchir les degrés, comme les sept grades des mystères de Mithra ou le *cursus honorum* des magistratures romaines.<sup>3</sup> Bien que nous n'en ayons pas de preuve certaine, toutes les probabilités sont pour que la préséance accordée soit celle à laquelle chacune des catégories des prêtres ou de mystes avait droit dans les processions, qui formaient partout une partie essentielle du culte bachique, au même titre que les sacrifices.<sup>4</sup> L'importance que ce cortège sacré avait pour la confrérie de Torre Nova se traduit par la multiplicité des titres composés avec *-φόρος*. Après les dignitaires les plus élevés de la communauté, le héros, la dadouque, les prêtres et prêtresses, le hiérophante, vient la statue divine portée par les "théophores." Elle est suivie des ministres d'un rang inférieur, parmi lesquels des "cistaphores," des "liknaphores," une "phallophore" et deux "pyrphores."<sup>5</sup>

La série de tous ces personnages sacerdotaux et fonctionnaires sacrés est de beaucoup la plus complète que nous possédions pour aucun collège dionysiaque et même pour aucun des mystères grecs ou orientaux, en dehors de ceux d'Eleusis. Mais il faut toujours se souvenir, en commentant notre inscription, qu'elle ne prétend pas être un *album sacrorum*,<sup>6</sup> le rôle officiel et exhaustif de tous les membres de la confrérie, mais offre seulement la liste des souscripteurs qui se sont cotisés pour

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra* les remarques sur la dadouque, le hiérophante, les *πυρφόροι*.

<sup>2</sup> Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.* XXV, 1910, pp. 91 ff. Cf. ce que nous avons dit, *Syria*, X, 1929, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. à ce sujet les remarques de Poland, *Gesch. des griechischen Vereinswesens*, 1909, p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 762 = *Inscr. gr. Rom.*, I, 662 (Dionysiopolis vers 489 av. J. C.): 'Αναλαβόντων τὸν στίφανον τοῦ θεοῦ (Διονύσου) τὰς τε πομπὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας [ἐπετέλεισε]. Cf. Dittenberger, *Or. inscr.* 331 = Quandt, p. 120 (Pergame): Τὰς μὲν θυσίας συντελεῖν μεθ' ἡμῶν, τὰς δὲ πομπὰς μὴ δύνασθαι.

Les *καταγώγια* de Bacchus sont célébrés par les Iobacches d'Athènes (Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1109, 1110), à Priène et à Milet (*Ibid.*, 1003, 23 et note 6; cf. Quandt, pp. 170, 172; *Realenc.*, s.v.; Maass, *Orpheus*, 1895, p. 56 en a rapproché la procession qui accueillit à Ephèse Antoine *νέον Διόνυσον* (Plut., *Ant.* 24). À Athènes, les Dionysies commençaient par une *πομπή* (Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 437; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 1932, pp. 135, 139. Preller-Robert, I, p. 675, n. 2). Comparer le grand défilé de Ptolémée Philadelphie à Alexandrie (*infra*, p. 241). Dans l'autre monde, l'immortalité dionysiaque est parfois conçue comme une participation à un joyeux cortège (*C.I.L.* III, 686, Bücheler, *Carm. epigr.*, 1233) et c'est pourquoi ce *komos* est si fréquemment représenté sur les sarcophages.

<sup>5</sup> Nous définirons plus bas le sens exact de tous ces titres.

<sup>6</sup> Comme *C.I.L.* XIV, 286 ou *C.I.L.* III, 7437 = Dessau 4060.

élever une statue. Des blancs étendus ont été laissés pour ajouter, semble-t-il, les noms de nouveaux donateurs, soit que certains mystes n'aient rien voulu offrir, soit que leurs moyens ne le leur aient pas permis ou qu'on se soit proposé de faire payer aussi plus tard de nouveaux initiés pour acquitter les frais subis. Cette intention de compléter les mentions gravées sur la pierre est manifeste pour les ἀρχιεάνισκοι, au pluriel dans le titre, bien qu'un seul nom le suive.<sup>1</sup>

Il est remarquable que toute la série des noms sont de simples *cognomina*, sauf deux (I c 18: Ἰουλία Εὐτυχία et III c 10: Οὐαλερία Ἀριστεΐνα), sans qu'on aperçoive d'ailleurs le motif de l'exception faite pour ces deux femmes. Partout ailleurs, on ne trouve indiqué ni le patronymique selon l'usage grec,<sup>2</sup> ni le gentilice à la façon romaine. Le fait est d'autant plus singulier que dans les autres listes qui nous sont parvenues de sectateurs de Bacchus, d'ordinaire les noms sont donnés au complet.<sup>3</sup> La première idée qui vient à l'esprit est que les mystes énumérés sont des esclaves: la confrérie aurait été formée par la "*familia*" d'une grande maison. Mais cette explication ne vaut pas, puisque les personnages aristocratiques mentionnés au début et aussi la prêtresse Agrippinilla, à qui l'on élève une statue, ne sont eux-mêmes désignés que par un simple *cognomen*. L'on est ainsi amené à penser que dans les mystères de Bacchus ou du moins dans certaines de ses associations d'initiés, les distinctions sociales du monde profane s'effaçaient, qu'une hiérarchie religieuse se substituait à la différence de rang dans la vie civile, et que par suite les initiés n'étaient jamais appelés que par le surnom que tous possédaient, sans qu'on mentionnât la filiation ou l'appartenance à une *gens*.<sup>4</sup> Tous les bacchants étaient des frères spirituels.<sup>5</sup> Nous avons autrefois constaté quelque chose d'analogue dans les mystères de Mithra où un dénombrement des *cultores* de Sentinum énumère des esclaves à côté d'hommes libres<sup>6</sup> et les *nomina Bacchii vernaculorum*, donnés en Mésie par une inscription de l'époque des Sévères, montrent que certains des membres de ce βακχεῖον étaient de condition servile, certains autres des affranchis.<sup>7</sup> La religion dionysiaque était accueillante pour les petits gens, bien qu'elle dût conserver jusqu'à la fin du paganisme la faveur des grands de la terre.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 254 H.

<sup>2</sup> Il n'y a qu'une seule exception. Parmi les ἱεροὶ βάκχοι figure un Αἰξάνων, qui est caractérisé par l'addition Ἀφείλους υἱός, évidemment pour le distinguer de l'autre Αἰξάνων, qui fait partie des ἀρχιβαύκοι [Vogliano].

<sup>3</sup> Ainsi dans les dédicaces des βουκόλοι de Pergame (Fränkel, *Inscr. von Pergamon*, 485 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1115 et *I.G. Rom.*, IV, 386); dans l'inscription d'Apollonie du Pont (*C.I.G.*, 2055 = Le Bas 1555 = Dumont-Homolle, p. 457, n. 11d); dans celui du *Bacchium vernaculorum* de Mésie (*C.I.L.* III, 7437 = Dessau 4060).

<sup>4</sup> Tenendo presenti queste considerazioni, bisognerà riesaminare diverse liste di nomi che figurano in testi epigrafici, per esempio a Pergamo, Fränkel, *Inscr. Perg.* 508 [A.V.].

<sup>5</sup> Dessau 3360: "Fratribus suis." Ce nom de frères pour les *consacranei* ou συμύστοι est fréquent dans les cultes orientaux; cf. nos *Relig. orientales dans le paganisme romain*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 24, 121, 269, note 111.

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.* XI, 5737 = Dessau 4215. Cf. nos *Mon. mystères de Mithra*, I, p. 276, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 3. On en rapprochera *C.I.L.* III, 704 (Philippe): "Lucius Caesi Victoris servus actor . . . thiasis Liberi Patr(is) Tasibasteni donavit denarios CX."—Sur la question générale de l'admission des esclaves dans les collèges, cf. Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 229; Waltzing, *Les Corporations professionnelles*, 1896, I, p. 214, II, pp. 246, 333. Cf. aussi, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 985, 5, 75.

<sup>8</sup> Bien d'autres inscriptions que celle de Torre Nova mentionnent sous l'Empire de hauts magistrats et sénateurs romains comme remplissant les fonctions sacrées du culte bachique. Cf. p. ex. à Pergame, *I. Gr. Rom.*, IV, 386, 396; à Rome, Dessau, 1264, 4152, 4153. Comparer ce que Lucien, *De Saltat.* 79,



Toutefois, nous ne trouvons aucun indice qu'à leur entrée dans le thias, les mystes aient changé de nom et pris un *signum* purement religieux, comme, semble-t-il, c'est le cas ailleurs.<sup>1</sup> Au contraire, Agrippinilla, Gallicanus et les autres personnages identifiés par notre collaborateur, portent le *cognomen* sous lequel ils étaient connus dans le monde. Comme me le fait observer M. Vogliano, des noms qui se rapporteraient aux fonctions ou croyances du culte de Dionysos sont extrêmement rares. "Les plus expressifs seraient *Thyias*,<sup>2</sup> et *Satyriscus*.<sup>3</sup> *Dadouchis*, *Spendousa*, *Sigeros* et *Hagnos* peuvent, si l'on veut, s'expliquer de la même manière, mais la chose est douteuse pour *Iubilator*, *Liberianus*, et plus encore pour *Βάσσαρις*."<sup>4</sup> Il ne s'est donc passé ici rien de pareil à ce qui devint plus tard la règle pour les moines et religieuses, qui, en quittant le siècle, abandonnaient aussi leur ancien nom. On pourrait rappeler plutôt que dans la liturgie de l'Église, c'est le nom de baptême des personnes pour lesquelles on prie qui est prononcé, non celui de leur famille. Les mystes païens aussi paraissent avoir été désignés dans les thias par les *cognomina* sous lesquels ils avaient été initiés. Ce nom pouvait, semble-t-il, être celui qui leur était généralement donné, ou au contraire, dans certaines sectes, être différent, pris pour la cérémonie religieuse.

Une pareille liste, pour précieuse qu'elle soit, provoque notre curiosité plus qu'elle ne la satisfait. Nous y chercherons en vain des renseignements sur le mode de désignation des desservants du culte, élection, nomination ou tirage au sort, sur la durée de leurs fonctions ou sur le caractère de celles-ci. Nous ignorons même quel était le titre officiel du grand collège, riche de cinq cents membres, qui s'était constitué dans la campagne romaine et s'il avait reçu comme d'autres associations bachiques, l'appellation spécifique de *σπείρα*<sup>5</sup> ou celle de *βακχείον*<sup>6</sup> ou celle plus générale de *θιασος*. Pour comprendre les titres sacrés qui se succèdent si nombreux et dont plusieurs sont nouveaux, nous avons dû tenter d'en définir le caractère, et ce sera l'utilité principale de notre commentaire. Mais l'image approximative que nous pouvons ainsi nous former de la confrérie de Torre Nova ne convient, à strictement parler, qu'à elle seule. Les associations religieuses des Grecs ont pris des formes infiniment variées et les collèges dionysiaques en particulier n'étaient nullement d'un type uniforme. Beaucoup de titres sacrés qu'on rencontre ailleurs manquent dans notre dédicace,<sup>7</sup> et inversement celle-ci en con-

dit de l'Ionie et du Pont (οἱ ἐβγενίστατοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστη τῶν πόλεων), St. Augustin de l'Afrique (*Epist.* 17, 4): "Decuriones et primores civitatis per plateas urbis (Madaure) bacchantes et fufentes."

<sup>1</sup> Cette question est traitée par Mlle. Willeumier dans une étude complète sur les *signa* qui vient de paraître dans les *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, XIII, 2<sup>e</sup> partie, pp. 611 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lu sur la pierre par Miss Alexander.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lucien, *De Saltat.* 79.

<sup>4</sup> Βάσσαρις, cf. *Et. Magn.* s.v. Βασσάρα, 190, 51: Σημαίνει κυρίως τὴν βάκχην . . . ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἡ κατωφερὴς καὶ πόρνος γυνὴ ἄρρηται βασσάρα; *ibid.* s.v. Βασσαρίδες, 191, 2: Αἱ Βάκχαι . . . λέγονται βασσάρα αἱ Θράκισαι.

<sup>5</sup> Σπείρα, *spira*, cf. Quandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 242 ff. Poland (*Vereinswesen*, p. 153 et dans *Realenc.* s.v.) nie tout rapport entre la *σπείρα* bachique et la *cohors* romaine, qui porte le même nom. Mais en admettant même que l'emploi religieux du mot soit antérieur à son usage militaire, ce qui n'est pas établi, il est difficile de croire que les deux notions n'aient pas été rapprochées; cf. nos *Relig. orientales*, p. 207, n. 7. <sup>6</sup> Βακχείον: Quandt, p. 243; Poland, *index*, p. 644. *Bacchium*, *supra* p. 234, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Nous ne trouvons à Torre Nova aucun ἄπας, ἀρχιμήστης, πατρομήστης, σπειράρχης, διαταξιαρχος, ὁμοδιῆσ-καλος, θυροσφόρος, νερθηκοφόρος, comme dans les associations dionysiaques d'Asie Mineure (Quandt, pp. 247 ff.), ni l'ὁμωδός de Rhodes (*I.G.* XII, 155), ni l'ἐστιάρχης et le κρατηρίαρχος d'Apollonie du Pont

tient qui ne s'étaient pas trouvés jusqu'ici et c'est par là surtout qu'elle apparaîtra instructive.

Par l'abondance de sa nomenclature, par la multiplicité de ses offices, l'inscription de Torre Nova est, nous le disions, unique en son genre et par suite sa valeur est considérable. A la vérité, ce qu'elle nous apprend nous fait regretter plus vivement ce qu'elle nous laisse ignorer. Cette sèche énumération, cet aride catalogue ne nous donnent pas de réponse aux questions les plus hautes dont notre curiosité s'enquert à propos des bacchanales. Qu'enseignaient des mystères? Comment agissaient-ils sur le sentiment et sur la raison? Quelles espérances éveillaient-ils d'une vie meilleure? Quel attrait merveilleux leur ont permis de conquérir à la fois la foule des humbles et l'aristocratie la plus cultivée, les esclaves et les clarissimes? Les cérémonies d'un culte secret, l'assurance qu'elles communiquaient d'une béatitude d'outre-tombe ne peuvent être devinées en quelque mesure, qu'à l'aide de l'archéologie, non de l'épigraphie. Les grands cycles de peintures comme celles de la "Villa des Mystères," à Pompéi,<sup>1</sup> les sculptures des sarcophages, une foule de moindres monuments figurés sont à cet égard notre grande source d'information. Mais le marbre qui vient de nous être rendu a une autre valeur, qui n'est point négligeable. Il permet de se faire une idée précise de l'organisation sacrée d'un grand thiasse dionysiaque avec toute la diversité de ses fonctions sacerdotales, et il nous montre comment cette organisation a été transplantée telle quelle de l'Orient hellénique dans la Rome des Césars, en gardant sa langue, sa hiérarchie et certainement aussi sa liturgie traditionnelle. Une famille sénatoriale opulente est venue s'établir en Italie en y amenant avec elle tout son personnel domestique. À ses esclaves, à ses affranchis, à ses clients sont venus se joindre, peut-être, d'autres émigrés, arrivés de la même région, pour honorer le dieu de leur patrie commune selon leur rites nationaux. Près du lieu de la découverte de notre marbre, sur les contreforts des monts Albains, se pressaient les villas luxueuses,<sup>2</sup> comme aujourd'hui encore à Frascati, et parmi leurs propriétaires plusieurs devaient appartenir à cette aristocratie hellénique à qui l'exercice des hautes magistratures avait, au II<sup>e</sup> siècle, ouvert largement l'accès du sénat romain. L'ensemble du thiasse de Torre Nova, malgré la présence de certains noms d'esclaves barbares, forme un tout homogène, une société de Grecs

(Vogliano, *supra*, p. 219), ni l'ἀνθιερῆς, l'ἀρχιβακχος et le βοσκοτικός des Iobacches Athéniens (Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1109), ni le ιεράρχης de Chéronée (*I.G.* VII, 3392), ni l'orgiophanta et le parastata d'inscriptions latines (Dessau, 3364-5), ni le ιεροστολιστής qu'on trouve en Égypte (Athénée, 198e; cf. *infra*, p. 251, n. 9).

<sup>1</sup> Nous aurons dans notre commentaire à citer plusieurs fois ces peintures. Après le remarquable mémoire de M. Rizzo (*Dionysos Mystes*, 1915) et les controverses qu'il a provoquées (cf. nos *Religions orientales*<sup>4</sup>, p. 310, n. 60), elles ont été étudiées avec pénétration par Mlle. Bieber, *Die Mysterien der Villa Item* (*Jb. Arch.* I. XLIII, 1928, pp. 298 ff.), puis par Toynbee (*J.R.S.* XIX, 1929, p. 67), et par Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, 1929, pp. 343-376. M. Maiuri leur a enfin consacré un ouvrage monumental, *La Villa dei Misteri*, Rome, 1931. Sur ces peintures, celles de la maison homérique à Pompéi et d'autres monuments apparentés, cf. Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy*, 1927, p. 55. Une admirable mosaïque, encore inédite, qui a été découverte à Cuicul (Djémila) en Afrique représente plusieurs scènes du cycle dionysiaque, dont une dérive certainement du même modèle que le tableau du dévoilement du phallus à la Villa Item. Une curieuse série de représentations dionysiaques ornent un tombeau de l'Isola Sacra près d'Ostie, cf. Calza, *Not. Scav.*, 1928, pp. 156 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 1929, et *Glaube der Hellenen*, II, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Ashby, *The Roman Campagna*, 1927, p. 102.

des îles ou d'Asie à l'exclusion des Syriens ou des Egyptiens.<sup>1</sup> Un pareil fait, offre un intérêt considérable pour l'histoire de la société romaine. Il nous montre par un exemple saisissant comment sous les Antonins et les Sévères l'accession de la bourgeoisie opulente des provinces orientales aux honneurs suprêmes de l'État a contribué à transformer Rome en une ville à demi-hellénique.<sup>2</sup> Mais la valeur de la grande inscription du Metropolitan Museum est supérieure encore au point de vue religieux, puisqu'elle nous fait saisir sur le fait l'introduction massive dans la population du Latium de centaines de sectateurs des mystères gréco-asiatiques célébrés en l'honneur de Dionysos, dieu Sauveur.

\* \* \* \* \*

Après ces observations générales nous pouvons aborder l'interprétation des divers paragraphes de notre long document.

HPΩΞ

(Un nom masculin)

Ce n'a point été la moindre des surprises que nous a réservées la découverte de la base de Torre Nova que de trouver placé à la tête des mystes un *ἥρως*. Si nous avons affaire à un collège funéraire, on pourrait supposer que ce "héros" était un défunt qui serait censé participer encore aux réunions de ses anciens confrères. La croyance que les morts prenaient leur part des banquets célébrés en mémoire d'eux, se conserva à travers toute l'antiquité.<sup>3</sup> On voit aussi d'autres associations héroïser un de leurs membres—c'est le cas par exemple, pour les dionysiastes du Pirée<sup>4</sup>— et ce héros était considéré comme continuant en quelque mesure à faire partie de la confrérie à laquelle il avait appartenu durant sa vie.<sup>5</sup> Mais le caractère spécial de notre inscription exclut absolument une pareille interprétation. Car, nous l'avons dit, elle ne nous offre pas l'*album sacratorum* d'un thiasse bachique, dans lequel on aurait, à la rigueur, pu continuer à faire figurer un défunt; elle donne la liste des mystes qui ont contribué de leurs deniers à l'érection d'une statue. Il serait absurde de supposer qu'un mort eut versé sa cotisation. Il faut donc nécessairement admettre que *ἥρως* est le titre d'un dignitaire du collège. Il suffit du reste pour s'en convaincre de considérer la pierre, où le graveur a donné à ce mot une place toute pareille à celle de *δαδούχος* à la ligne qui suit. Si l'on rayait ce "héros" du

<sup>1</sup> Parmi les noms, il ne s'en rencontre aucun qui soit d'origine sémitique, ni même aucun Séleukos, ce qui serait impossible si le collège avait compris des Syriens. De même aucun nom ne trahit une origine égyptienne, car *Ἰσιδωρος* et *Ἰσιων*, que seuls on pourrait objecter, appartenaient depuis longtemps à l'ensemble du monde hellénique.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vogliano, *supra*, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Rohde, *Psyche*, I, p. 231; cf. notre *Afterlife in Roman Paganism*, p. 54. À la fin du paganisme, St. Epiphane dit encore (*Ancoratus*, 86, 4): "Ἐνθα ἐτίθη τὰ σώματα τῶν τελευτησάντων, παραγίνονται (les palens) καὶ προσφωνοῦσι τοῖς τεθαμμένοις νεκροῖς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν "Ἀνάστα" φάσκοντες, "ὁ δαίμων, φάγε καὶ πῖε καὶ εὐφρανθητι."

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV, 2, 623 c = Michel 986 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1101, ll. 45 ff.: Φροντίσαι δὲ τοῖς ἀργεῶνας, ὅπως ἀφηρωισθεῖ Διονύσιος καὶ ἀνατεθεῖ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ἵνα ὑπάρχει κάλλιστον ὑπόμνημα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, II, 4, p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> C'est ce que montre notamment l'inscription de la phratrie napolitaine des Artemisii, où le fils héroïsé d'un bienfaiteur est appelé en grec et en latin, τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἐμὸν ἥρωα τὸν ὑμέτερον (38), "filio meo heroi vestro"; cf. Maiuri, *Studi Romani di archeologia*, I, 1913, p. 21 et p. 32.

nombre des vivants, il en résulterait cette conséquence paradoxale qu'un collège composé en majorité d'hommes aurait eu à sa tête cette dadouque, c'est-à-dire une femme. L'un et l'autre titre ont une signification analogue: ce sont les deux plus hautes charges du collège. Le "héros", supérieur à la dadouque, est à la tête de toute la hiérarchie sacrée et notons le, ouvre la marche dans les cortèges.

Ce titre ne s'était jamais, que nous sachions, rencontré jusqu'ici pour le président d'une association culturelle. Οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἀρχαίων μόνοι ἦσαν ἥρωες<sup>1</sup> dit Aristote, et si rigoureusement cette affirmation ne peut s'appliquer aux poèmes homériques,<sup>2</sup> elle est cependant exacte dans une large mesure. Les "commandants" y sont par excellence les "héros," et nous voyons que cette appellation honorifique a gardé dans le collège bachique de Torra Nova son sens archaïque de "chef," qu'elle avait probablement à Lesbos de toute antiquité. Ce haut dignitaire religieux devait d'ailleurs, dans la vénération des fidèles, être placé au-dessus de la condition commune des hommes et le terme technique de ἥρωες se rapproche par là du sens que ce nom a généralement lorsqu'on le décerne à des personnages vivants.<sup>3</sup>

Bacchus avait été primitivement le dieu-taureau d'une religion de bouviers (βουκόλοι)<sup>4</sup> et il est remarquable que dans la langue des campagnards le chef du troupeau, le boeuf qui le guide, se soit appelé ἡγεμών mais aussi, semble-t-il, ὁ βούς ὁ ἥρωες.<sup>5</sup> Dans un vieil hymne liturgique chanté par les femmes d'Elis, Dionysos, Taureau divin, reçoit lui-même cette épithète de ἥρωες, sans doute parce qu'il est conçu comme marchant à la tête du troupeau.<sup>6</sup> D'autre part, Bacchus est originaire de Thrace et les populations de ce pays connaissent un dieu Ἡρώς.<sup>7</sup> Le nom porté par le "héros" des communautés bachiques permet, ce semble, de fixer le sens qu'on attribuait à celui de cette divinité balkanique: comme le Ba'al sémitique, ce Héros est le "Maître" de ses fidèles et on le voit, en effet, souvent paré de l'épithète de "Κύριος."<sup>8</sup> Enfin les Thyiades célébraient à Delphes tous les neuf ans la

<sup>1</sup> Aristote, *Problem.*, 19, 48, p. 922 f. Cf. Hésychius: Ἡρώς, δυνατός, ισχυρός, γενναῖος, σεμνός.

<sup>2</sup> On y trouve non seulement les princes mais parfois d'autres hommes libres appelés ἥρωες; cf. la note de Rohde, *Psyche* <sup>4</sup>, I, p. 154, n. 1. <sup>3</sup> Rohde, *l.c.*, II, pp. 536 ff. <sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> *C.I.G.*, 1688 = *I.G.* II, 545 = Michel, 702, l. 32 (Egine): Τοῦ βοῦς τιμὰ τοῦ ἥρωος ἑκατὸν στατήρες Αἰγυναῖοι. Boeckh (p. 811a) en a rapproché Xénophon, *Hell.* VI, 4, 29: τὸν βοῦν ἡγεμόνα; cf. Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Rus*, p. 914. Froehner dans ses inscriptions du Louvre (p. 49, no. 32) a traduit: "le prix du boeuf du héros" et s'est figuré que le héros Amphycyon était représenté par un hoplite sacrifiant un taureau, hypothèse fantaisiste. D'autres interprétations encore ont été proposées de ce texte. La comparaison avec l'hymne d'Elis ne paraît donner une grande vraisemblance à celle que nous avons préférée.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarque, *Quaest. Graecae*, 36, p. 299B = Bergk, *Poet. lyr. Gr.*, III, 1299: Διὰ τί τὸν Διόνυσον αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήων γυναῖκες ὑμνοῦσαι παρακαλοῦσι βοῦν ποτὶ παραγίγνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτάς; ἔχει δ' οὕτως ὁ ὕμνος: "Ἐλθεῖν, ἥρω Διόνυσε, Ἀλλείων [ἔς τὰς] ἀγῶνας σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν ἐς τὰς τῶ βοῦς τιμὰς ποτὶ θῖον." εἶτα δις ἐπ' ἄδουσιν: "Ἄξιε Ταῦρε."

Cf. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 1906, pp. 291 ff. Peut-être l'épithète de Καθηγεμών que Dionysos reçoit à Pergame, Téos et Philadelphie et dont l'interprétation reste obscure (Farnell, V, p. 136) remonte-t-elle à l'antique conception du dieu comme le Taureau divin, qui conduit le troupeau. Καθηγεῖμαι s'emploie de celui qui marche en tête d'une procession dionysiaque, cf. *Inscr. v. Priene* 174 = Dittenberger, *Syll.* <sup>3</sup>, 1003, l. 21. Cf. cependant v. Prott, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVII, p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> Kazarov, dans *Realenc.*, Suppl. III, s.v. *Heros (thralischer)*; Seure, *Revue des ét. anc.* XIV, 1912, pp. 3 ff.; etc.

<sup>8</sup> Dumont-Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéol.*, pp. 329 ff., nos. 24, 32, 39. "L'usage était général en Thrace d'appeler les dieux et déesses κύριος et κυρία." Dumont signale notamment (*C.R.Acad. Inscr.* 1868, p. 417) la découverte de trente bas-reliefs avec la dédicace ΚΥΡΙΩΙ ΗΡΩΙ; cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Kyrios*, col. 1761.



fête mystique de la "Ἡρώς,"<sup>1</sup> c'est-à-dire de Sémélé, que l'on parait avoir voulu reconnaître ainsi comme la "Maîtresse." Dans certains collèges dionysiaques, celui qu'on plaçait à la tête des prêtres et des mystes prenait donc le même titre que les dieux qu'il servait, à peu près comme dans le culte de Pessinonte le grand-prêtre s'appelait Attis.

## ΔΑΔΟΥΧΟΣ

(Un nom féminin)

Une inscription de Rome rappelle qu'un certain Pontius "dadouque et chef de la cohorte de *Liber Pater* a restauré la salle des fêtes."<sup>2</sup> Le titre de δαδούχος, comme celui de hiérophante (p. 243), semble bien être un emprunt au clergé d'Eleusis. Les étroites relations qui unissaient en Attique le culte officiel de Dionysos et celui de Déméter et Coré, ont pu réagir sur les thiasés bachiques, même en dehors d'Athènes.<sup>3</sup> L'existence d'une dadouque féminine à Eleusis est cependant discutée.<sup>4</sup> Nous la trouvons, sans doute possible, dans notre liste ou on lit clairement . . . ηγίλλα δαδούχος. Cette dignitaire du culte occupait le deuxième rang dans la hiérarchie sacrée, immédiatement après le ἥρωσ. Dans la communauté, celui-ci avait probablement la haute direction des hommes, sa compagne, des femmes.

De toute antiquité la torche avait servi à éclairer les fêtes nocturnes du dieu du vin; sa lumière guidait le kômos des bacchants et on la voit souvent, sur les monuments, brandie par les ménades.<sup>5</sup> Mais dans les mystères, toute pratique prend avec le temps une signification morale, même si elle en était dépourvue à l'origine. La torche se vit ainsi attribuer une puissance cathartique. Dans les cérémonies bachiques, elle servait aux lustrations par le feu, qui accompagnaient celles par l'eau et par l'air.<sup>6</sup> Un satyre, élevant un flambeau au-dessus de la tête de Silène portant Dionysos, apparaît sur un vase arrétin de Perennius représentant la purification du dieu enfant, prototype de celle des mystères<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 1).

Le dadouque à Eleusis participait à certains rites cathartiques,<sup>8</sup> et il en était sans doute de même dans les associations dionysiaques pour son substitut féminin. La δαδούχος bachique parait avoir hérité de la double torche qui, en Attique, est celle

<sup>1</sup> Plutarque, *Quaest. Gr.* 12, p. 293C: Τρεῖς ἄγονσι Δελφοὶ ἐναετηρίδας. . . Τῆς δ' Ἡρώδος τὰ πλεῖστα μυστικὸν ἔχει λόγον ὃν ἴσασιν αἱ Θουάδες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δρωμένων φανερώς Σεμέλης ἂν τις ἀναγωγὴν εἰκάσει. Sur cette fête, cf. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 1906, pp. 286 ff. et *Realenc.* s.v. L'opinion que la Héroïs serait une fête générale des âmes ne se fonde que sur une interprétation arbitraire du nom.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.L. VI, 2251 = Dessau 3369: Pontius daduchus spirarches Liberis (sic) patris stibadium restituit suo loco. Sur les σπείραι, cf. *supra*, p. 235, n. 5. Stibadium = στίβαδιον; cf. Quandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 253 ff.; Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Affirmée par Lenormant (dans Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.* s.v. *Daduchus*, p. 4); elle a été niée par Foucart, *Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 211. À Gortyne d'Arcadie, la famille des Prosymnéens élève une statue à une femme δαδουχίσσα (C.I.G. 1535, I.G. V, 2,495). Lucien, *Cataplus*, 22, transporte aux enfers une δαδουχοῦσά τις.

<sup>5</sup> Bücheler, *Carm. epigr.* 1233: Qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas. Je me borne à renvoyer à Farnell, *Cults*, V, pp. 153, 241, pl. XXXIII; 256, pl. XLI; Saglio-Pottier, s.v. *Dionysia*, figs. 2424, 2425. <sup>6</sup> Servius, *Aen.* VI, 741: Taeda purgant et sulphure. Cf. *infra*, p. 251; Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, p. 196.

<sup>7</sup> G. H. Chase, *The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery*, New York, 1908, p. 41 et pl. I; Rizzo, *Dionysos Mystes*, p. 42 et fig. 2. Cette coupe sigillée reproduit une pièce d'orfèvrerie alexandrine.

<sup>8</sup> Suidas, s.v. Διὸς κώδιον; cf. Plut., *Alcib.* 22; Foucart, *op. cit.*, p. 196 f.; Kern, dans *Realenc.* s.v. *Daduchos*.



de Coré. Sur un des stucs de la Farnésine, on voit une femme, peut être la dadouque, allumer à l'aide de sa double torche le feu de l'autel (Pl. XXX),<sup>1</sup> à moins qu'inversement elle n'allume ses torches à l'autel et le même acte liturgique se répète sur une plaque Campana, mais avec un seul flambeau (Pl. XXXI, 2).<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 1.—COUPE DE PERENNIUS



FIG. 2.—COUPE DE PERENNIUS

ΙΕΡΕΙΣ

(Sept noms masculins)

Le prêtre chargé d'offrir les sacrifices, de s'acquitter des devoirs de la liturgie quotidienne, de diriger les cérémonies des fêtes,<sup>3</sup> de conduire les processions,<sup>4</sup> ne pouvait manquer dans aucun culte organisé et ceux de Dionysos sont souvent nommés. Ce sont en partie des prélats officiels, tenant leur charge du souverain, comme à Pergame<sup>5</sup> ou l'ayant achetée d'une cité, comme à Priène.<sup>6</sup> Mais, à côté de ce clergé public, les *ιερείς* des collèges bachiques privés sont fréquemment mentionnés.<sup>7</sup> Ils se retrouvent dans l'Occident latin, où l'on traduit leur nom par celui de *sacerdos*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stuc de la Farnésine au Museo Nazionale, notre fig. d'après phot. Alinari 6286. Cf. Wadsworth, *Memoirs American Academy*, IV, 1924, pl. VII et p. 32 f. Deux torches et un thyrsos avec une coupe à boire sur un bas relief de Munich (Glyptothek, no. 601); Schreiber, *Hellen. Reliefbilder*, pl. 80A; Harrison, *Prolegomena Gr. Religion*, p. 519, fig. 148; Farnell, V, pl. XXXIVb.

<sup>2</sup> V. Rohden, *Röm. Tonreliefs*, 1911, pl. CXXII, p. 98 = Reinach, *Rép. reliefs*, II, p. 265, 1. Sur un autel bachique de la collection Palmerston à Broadlands, une femme drapée soutenant sur une épaule un plat de fruits, "holds a flaming torch horizontally before her directed towards an altar on which fire burns" (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 220, no. 11).

<sup>3</sup> Les droits et les devoirs des prêtres de Dionysos sont énumérés dans plusieurs textes, notamment dans l'inscription de Priène, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1003; cf. 1012.

<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 762 = *I.G. Rom.* I, 662, cf. *supra*, p. 233, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Pergame: Dittenberger, *Or. inscr.*, 331; cf. Quandt, p. 120 f.

<sup>6</sup> Priène, cf. note 3. Milet, règlement cité *infra*, p. 241, n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> À Mitylène: Ael., *Var. Hist.*, XIII, 2; cf. Quandt, p. 138; à Ilium: Quandt, p. 133; à Athènes (collège des Iobaches): Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1109 = Michel, 1564, l. 110 ff.; à Téos: Michel, 1015; à Rome: *I.G. XIV*, 1449 = Kaibel, *Epigr.* 588 = *I.G.R.* I, 212.

<sup>8</sup> Déjà dans le sénatus consulte des Bacchanales (*C.I.L.* X, 104 = Dessau, 18, l. 10): *Sacerdos ne quis vir esed.* *C.I.L.* X, 1583 = Dessau, 3364-5 (Puteoli): *T. T. Flavii Eglectianus et Olympianus fil. eius*

Devant connaître parfaitement le rituel le *ιερεύς* est d'ordinaire nommé à vie,<sup>1</sup> soit que tiré au sort on le croie désigné par son dieu,<sup>2</sup> soit que, plus fréquemment, les membres du collège l'élisent,<sup>3</sup> soit que sa fonction soit héréditaire de père en fils<sup>4</sup> ou bien, comme chez les Iobacches athéniens, qu'il désigne un *ἀνθυιερεύς*, un coadjuteur *cum iure successionis*.<sup>5</sup> Cette grande diversité de l'organisation des thiasés grecs nous laisse dans l'ignorance sur le mode de désignation des prêtres dans l'association de Torre Nova, mais celle-ci se distingue par une particularité jusqu'ici unique. C'est la multiplicité des *ιερείς*, qui sont au nombre de sept, auxquels s'ajoutent encore trois *ιέρειαι*. En Grèce, le prêtre ou la prêtresse sont ordinairement uniques, soit qu'ils soient placés à la tête de l'association cultuelle ou subordonnés à un autre président.<sup>6</sup> Mais on connaissait déjà une inscription bachique de Rome citant deux prêtres et deux prêtresses, d'autres, trouvées en Italie, mentionnent deux prêtres avec une seule ou sans prêtresse.<sup>7</sup> On a pensé que ce doublement ou cette multiplication du sacerdoce étaient dus à une imitation du système romain de la collégialité.<sup>8</sup> Cette influence est en effet plus probable que celle des temples orientaux pourvus d'un nombreux clergé.<sup>9</sup> Mais on pourrait songer à une reproduction de ce qui existait à Eleusis, où le personnel sacré des mystères comprenait plusieurs prêtres différents.

## ΙΕΡΕΙΑΙ

(Deux noms féminins, plus celui d'Agrippinilla)

Un culte où les femmes avaient tant de part, ne pouvait manquer d'avoir des prêtresses. Dans la grande procession dionysiaque que fit défilier à Alexandrie Ptolémée Philadelphie et dont nous devons à Callixène de Rhodes une description minutieuse, les *ιερείς καὶ ιέρειαι* marchaient derrière la statue du dieu<sup>10</sup> et il

*sacerdotes orgiophantae*—*Libero Patri sacrum XX annale. T. Fl. Eglectiani sacerdotis Aurelius Aug. lib. Draco parastata consecravit.* Cf. Dessau, 4060: *Sac(erdos) Bachii*, 5460, 7182 et 3384: *Sub sacerdote patre.* On trouve à Lepcis Magna (*Ib.* 3371) un *antistes sacrorum Liberi patris* mais il s'agit d'un culte officiel. *Antistes* implique souvent une dignité supérieure à celle de *sacerdos*; cf. Gsell, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1931, p. 258.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Poland, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, 1909, p. 347, 420.

<sup>2</sup> Probablement chez les dionysiastes de Tomi; cf. *Arch. epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterr.* XI, 1887, p. 148, no. 60: *Μυστικῶν ἐν βάκχῳ λαχὼν στέφανος.* Cf. Poland, p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Poland, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> Ce paraît être le cas à Pouzzoles, cf. *supra*, p. 240, n. 8; certainement chez les dionysiastes du Pirée (Michel, 986 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 1101, l. 30); cf. Poland, p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> Michel 1564 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 1109, l. 4 et note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Poland, p. 347. De même en Sicile, *I.G.* XIV, 205 (Acra).

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.* XIV, 977 = *I.G. Rom.* I, 58: *Διο ὅσον ἱερεῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις καὶ σπείρη ἱερῶ ἀνέθηκαν* T. Αἰλῖος Ἐρωτ, Οὐφέωνία Παυλεῖνα, Γαμουρή α Κοσμάς, T. Ἰούλιος Μασκλίων. Deux prêtres à Pouzzoles, *supra*, p. 240, n. 8. Deux prêtres et une prêtresse à Portus, *I.G.* XIV, 925 = *I.G. Rom.* I, 385.

<sup>8</sup> Poland, pp. 347, 414.

<sup>9</sup> Dans le cortège dionysiaque de Ptolémée Philadelphie défilent des *ιερείς καὶ ιέρειαι*, mais ils appartiennent, semble-t-il, à plusieurs thiasés différents, cf. *infra*, note 1. À Milet, plusieurs prêtres et prêtresses figurent dans la procession de Dionysos Bacchios et ils sont placés sous la direction du prêtre officiel, nommé par la cité, qui est unique; cf. Wiegand, *Bericht*, VI (*Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1908), p. 22 = Quandt, p. 171: *Τοῖς δὲ καταγωγίοις κατὰ γένος τὸν Διόνυσον τοῖς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱέρειας τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Βακχίου.* Haussoullier (*Rev. d. ét. grecques*, XXXII, 1919, p. 262) a exprimé l'idée que ce terme de *ιερείς* désignait ici d'une façon générale tous les officiants des mystères. Peut-être aussi s'agit-il des prêtres d'associations privées, distincts de celui du temple de la ville.

<sup>10</sup> Athénée, p. 198e.

en était de même dans le cortège rituel de Dionysos Bakkhios à Milet.<sup>1</sup> Les prêtresses dans notre collège de Torre Nova sont au nombre de trois. Une telle pluralité est exceptionnelle dans le monde grec où la *ἱερεα*, comme le *ἱερεύς*, est en général unique et nommée à vie.<sup>2</sup> Mais nous avons en Italie au moins un autre exemple d'une double sacerdoce féminine.<sup>3</sup> Les observations que nous venons de faire à ce propos en parlant des prêtres s'appliquent aussi aux prêtresses. L'imitation des mystères d'Eleusis paraît ici probable: on y trouve en effet plusieurs *ἱερεαι* officiant à côté des *ἱερείς*.<sup>4</sup> Un règlement religieux de Milet daté de 276 av. J. C.<sup>5</sup> nous donne quelques précisions sur les fonctions de la prêtresse officielle qui achetait sa charge de la cité. Elle accomplit, au même titre que les prêtres, les sacrifices et touche les redevances de ceux qu'offrent les particuliers. Elle préside aussi aux initiations d'une façon mal définie—le texte offre malheureusement ici une lacune—et si quelque autre femme y procède sur le territoire de Milet, elle doit à la prêtresse un statère pour chaque triétéride.<sup>6</sup> Enfin c'est encore la prêtresse qui conduit les processions solennelles et qui mène aussi le thiasos hors de la ville pour la célébration des orgies.<sup>7</sup>

Les attributions réservées aux *ἱερεαι* de notre thiasos romain étaient probablement analogues. Notre inscription ne nous en apprend rien, en dehors de ceci, que les prêtresses ont, sinon la première, du moins une des premières places dans le cortège des mystes. Mais les monuments figurés nous instruisent mieux de leurs ministères liturgiques.

Une amphore de Ruvo, au Musée de Naples (Pl. XXXI, 1), figure un sacrifice solennel à Dionysos.<sup>8</sup> Derrière un autel flamboyant et une table d'offrandes, se dresse l'idole archaïque du dieu tenant le thyrsos: autour d'elle, il n'y a pas moins de huit femmes officiant: la plupart sont des bacchantes jouant du tambourin ou des cymbales ou tenant le thyrsos et la torche, mais une acolyte à droite apporte un plateau chargé de mets,<sup>9</sup> et une prêtresse se tient debout derrière l'autel. Elle a par dessus sa tunique, une peau de faon serrée autour des reins,<sup>10</sup> saisit de la main droite un couteau et maintient du bras gauche un chevreau, qu'elle s'apprête à immoler. Plus haut, c'est encore une prêtresse probablement qui fait une libation dans un cratère. Sur un bas-relief romain reproduisant un original hellénistique (Pl. XXXII, 1),<sup>11</sup> une femme, la tête voilée et ceinte d'un diadème, insigne de sa dignité, la main gauche appuyée sur un sceptre, fait de la droite une libation sur un autel, dont s'approche un satyristique portant sur la tête le van mystique.<sup>12</sup> La nymphe ou

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, *ἱερείς*, note 241, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> À Cos, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1012. Un prêtre et une prêtresse à Ormelis (Quandt, p. 215) et à Montana, Kutlovica en Bulgarie, *Arch. epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterr.* XVII, 1894, p. 212. Pour Milet, cf. *supra*, l.c. <sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 241, n. 7. <sup>4</sup> Foucart, *Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 214 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Milet: Wiegand, *Bericht VI (Abhandl. Berl. Akad. 1908)*, p. 22 = Quandt, p. 171; cf. le commentaire d'Haussoullier, *Rev. des ét. gr.* XXXII, 1919, pp. 261 ff. et Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen*, II, p. 372.

<sup>6</sup> L'inscription de Milet est complétée ici par le règlement de Cos: Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1012, 21 ff.; cf. Wilamowitz, l.c., p. 371. <sup>7</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 260.

<sup>8</sup> Heydemann, *Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, no. 2411; *Monumenti dell'Istituto*, VI, 37 = Reinach, *Rép. vases*, I, p. 154 = Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 246, pl. XLI.

<sup>9</sup> Cette figure d'acolyte se retrouve dans la scène de sacrifice de la Villa Igem, cf. *infra*, p. 243, note 4. <sup>10</sup> Sur cette *καράκωρος*, cf. *infra*, p. 256.

<sup>11</sup> Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, pl. LXX; Rizzo, *Dionysos Mystes*, p. 58 f. et fig. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 251.

déesse introduite dans cette scène mythologique accomplit les fonctions dévolues à la prêtresse par le rituel d'initiation. Sur la coupe de Perennius déjà citée à propos de la dadouque,<sup>1</sup> on voit une femme entourant l'autel d'une guirlande, tandis qu'une autre assiste un satyre qui immole un porc (Fig. 2). On a pensé que c'étaient des Nymphes prenant part à la purification mythique de Bacchus enfant; mais l'artiste leur attribue des actes qui dans les mystères étaient probablement réservés aux prêtresses. Dans les scènes d'initiation, c'est encore une femme qui asperge le myste avec l'eau contenue dans un canthare<sup>2</sup> pour le purifier (Pl. XXXIII, 2) et une seconde femme y tient sa tête voilée, au moment où il va subir l'imposition du liknon (Pl. XXXII, 2).<sup>3</sup> Dans la "Villa des Mystères" à Pompéï, figure une scène de sacrifice où une prêtresse fait, semble-t-il, passer d'une corbeille (*κάνεον*) dans une autre un rameau de laurier ou de myrte, qu'une acolyte a purifié par l'eau lustrale.<sup>4</sup> Une autre prêtresse de Dionysos, couronnée de fleurs, tendant les deux mains en signe de prière ou d'offrande, est figurée dans un *cubiculum* de la même villa.<sup>5</sup> Toutes ces oeuvres d'art peuvent nous donner quelque idée de la variété des fonctions réservées aux *ἱερείαι* de Torre Nova.

#### ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗC

(Un nom masculin)

La charge de hiérophante, comme celle de dadouque (p. 239) a probablement été empruntée par le clergé de Dionysos à celui d'Eleusis. Mais ici ce personnage était le plus considérable de tout le corps sacerdotal: il avait la direction générale du culte et présidait à la célébration des mystères.<sup>6</sup> Il en était de même, semble-t-il, dans certains collèges dionysiaques en Asie Mineure.<sup>7</sup> Nous voyons le hiérophante, nommé seul dans les inscriptions avec sa *σπείρα*.<sup>8</sup> A Hiérocésarée, il apparaît de même seul en tête d'une dédicace rappelant la consécration d'un autel.<sup>9</sup> Mais à Torre Nova le premier rang étant réservé au Héros, le hiérophante avait été relégué au cinquième. Son nom n'est plus, comme ceux qui précèdent dans la liste, celui d'un membre de l'aristocratie; il trahit une origine orientale et peut-être servile.<sup>10</sup> Nous ignorons quelles attributions il avait conservées; sans doute, comme son titre l'indique intervenait-il surtout dans les initiations. Il est significatif pour cette diminution de sa puissance que ce membre du clergé soit très rarement nommé à Rome. De fait, on ne connaît qu'une inscription grecque et une

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Rizzo, *op. cit.*, p. 57, fig. 11; *Relig. orientales* <sup>4</sup>, p. 202, fig. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Rizzo, p. 49, fig. 9; p. 58, fig. 12; cf. *Relig. orient.*, pl. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> Rizzo, *op. cit.*, p. 64 et pl. II, 2; Bieber, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XLIII, 1928, p. 305; Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, pp. 134 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Maiuri, *ibid.*, p. 175, fig. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Sur ses fonctions, cf. Foucart, *Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Les inscriptions d'Anatolie ont été réunies par Quandt, p. 250. Ce prêtre est connu par des textes d'Ephèse, de Magnésie du Méandre, de Méonie, de Philadelphie, de Hiérocésarée, d'Acmonia, de Smyrne et peut-être d'Ancyre.

<sup>8</sup> Acmonia, Ramsay, *Rev. des ét. anciennes* III, 1901, p. 275: 'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Αὐρήλιοι Ἐπιτύχανος καὶ Ἐπίνικος . . . πατέρα Τελισφόρον ἀπειρώσαν et de côté: Ἐρους γὰρ σὺν τῇ εἰρηῇ εἰσ[π]είρη ἦς καὶ εἰροφάντης. À Philadelphie, le hiérophante et l'ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς σπείρης (p. 243, n. 9) consacrent ensemble un autel (Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 111, n. 8; cf. Quandt, p. 179).

<sup>9</sup> Keil et von Premerstein, *Reise in Lydien*, I, p. 54, no. 112=Quandt, p. 181: Ἐπὶ ἱεροφάντου Ἀρτεμιδώρου . . . οἱ συνγενεῖς Διονύσου Ἦρικ[ε]π[αί]φ[ω] τὸν βωμὸν.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Vogliano, *supra*, p. 224.



latine qui le mentionnent; l'une est un autel rond portant la dédicace: 'Εστία Διονύσου Ἀπρωϊανὸς ἱεροφάντης,<sup>1</sup> l'autre un monument taurobolique de l'an 313 ap. J. C. consacré par un *pater sacrorum invicti Mithrae, hierophantes Liberi patris et Hecatarum*.<sup>2</sup> A Pouzzoles, des *orgiophantae* se substituent au ἱεροφάντης.<sup>3</sup>

## ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΙ

(Deux noms masculins)

L'acception ordinaire du mot *θεοφόρος* est "inspiré par un dieu," mais l'analogie avec les autres composés semblables de notre liste exclut l'interprétation qui verrait dans ces "théophores," des mystes saisis par l'extase dionysiaque. Il faut accentuer *θεοφόρος* et traduire "porteur du dieu." Le titre est nouveau, mais régulièrement formé.<sup>4</sup> Les deux théophores, devaient dans les cortèges soutenir sur leurs épaules une civière à brancards (*φέρετρον, ferculum*) sur laquelle était placée la statue de Dionysos. Une fresque de Pompéï, un bas-relief du cloître de San Lorenzo à Rome, montrent une Cybèle assise, portée ainsi dans une procession;<sup>5</sup> ailleurs les Galles soutiennent de même un trône avec la ciste mystique,<sup>6</sup> et à la fin du paganisme les sectatrices d'Adonis promenaient de la même manière la statue de Salambô."<sup>7</sup> On pourrait multiplier les exemples.<sup>8</sup> L'image divine était précédée dans la procession dionysiaque par les hauts dignitaires du clergé, héros, dadouque, prêtres et prêtresses, hiérophantes, et suivie par les titulaires de charges moins importantes, comme nous l'avons noté en commençant (p. 233).

## ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΙΛΗΝΟΚΟΣΜΟΣ

(Un nom masculin)

Immédiatement derrière la statue divine marchait un myste, Sérénus, qui cumulait la charge d'ὑπουργός et de σείληνόκοσμος. Nous ignorons en quoi consistait exactement la première. Le titre ne se retrouve, que nous sachions, dans aucun collège bachique connu jusqu'ici, et il paraît même être entièrement étranger à tous les thiasés helléniques. Il traduisait probablement à Rome le latin "*minister*"<sup>9</sup> et désignait dès lors l'acolyte qui prêtait au prêtre son aide dans la célébration des sacrifices.

Le nom de σείληνόκοσμος est aussi nouveau, et sa signification n'est pas non plus absolument claire. Cependant une comparaison avec le règlement des Iobacches

<sup>1</sup> I.G. XIV, 979.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.L. VI, 507. Dans la consécration d'une statue d'Hécate (C.I.L. VI, 261 = Dessau, 3269) interviennent à la fois un *ierof(anta)* et une *spira*. Il semble qu'ici aussi les cultes de Liber pater et d'Hécate soient rapprochés, *spira* étant un nom porté surtout par les collègues bachiques (*supra*, p. 235) mais partout ailleurs, quand les inscriptions latines nomment un hiérophante, c'est un prêtre d'Hécate seule.

<sup>3</sup> *Orgiophantae*: C.I.L. X, 1583 = Dessau, 3364.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *θεοφόρος* dans le sens actif de "portant une déesse" (Lucien, *Lucius*, 27); *θεοφόρος* comme adjectif (Eschyle, fragm. 225, Nauck).

<sup>5</sup> Fresque: *Not. Scav.*, 1912, p. 115; Rizzo, *Pittura ellenistico-romana*, 1929, pl. CC; bas-relief de San Lorenzo, Reinach, *Rép. Reliefs*, III, 321.

<sup>6</sup> Tillyard, *J.R.S.* VII, 1917, p. 284 et pl. VIII; mes *Relig. orientales*<sup>1</sup>, p. 53, fig. 3; cf. p. 225, note 41.

<sup>7</sup> *Syria*, VIII, 1927, p. 333 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Ferculum*; *Realenc.*, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Forcellini, s.v.; Dessau, *Inscr. sel.*, index, p. 576.



nous permettra de préciser son caractère. Le soin de faire régner le calme et observer la décence dans les banquets sacrés y incombe à un *εὐκοσμος*, désigné ou tiré au sort par le prêtre. Il y a le devoir d'expulser ceux qui en viennent aux coups pendant les réunions du collège.<sup>1</sup> Si un convive se méconduit ou trouble l'ordre, il place à côté de lui le thyrsus du dieu; le perturbateur doit alors sortir de la salle du festin, et s'il n'obéit pas il est mis dehors par les *ἵπποι*, qu'ont nommé les prêtres, comme l'*εὐκοσμος* lui-même.<sup>2</sup> Or, ces *ἵπποι*, qui se retrouvent dans d'autres associations dionysiaques<sup>3</sup> sont des silènes, comme l'a reconnu Maass.<sup>4</sup> Apparentés aux centaures, les silènes ont des oreilles, une queue et des pieds chevalins, et on les dénomme *ἵπποι*, de même que les satyres sont dits *τράγοι* à cause de leurs pattes et de leurs oreilles de boucs. Les *σειληνοί* au nombre de trois qui signent une dédicace de Pergame en même temps que des *βουκόλοι* et des *ὑμνοδιάσκαλοι*,<sup>5</sup> sont peut-être aussi les gardiens de la discipline dans le culte de Dionysos *Καθηγεμών*, bien que l'un d'eux prenne le titre de *χορηγός*. Les mêmes fonctions policières leurs appartiennent à Alexandrie: dans le cortège dionysiaque de Ptolémée Philadelphe,<sup>6</sup> ce sont eux qui ouvrent la marche en écartant la foule, vêtus de chlamydes de pourpre ou de tuniques écarlates; ils réapparaissent d'ailleurs encore dans les groupes qui forment la suite du défilé.<sup>7</sup> Les silènes, comme les satyres, masqués et costumés<sup>8</sup> figuraient ainsi probablement dans la plupart des processions bachiques.

Ces faits établis, nous pouvons essayer de fixer le sens de *σειληνόκοσμος*. On pourrait songer à un composé analogue à *γυναικόκοσμος*, mal attesté par certains manuscrits de Pollux,<sup>9</sup> comme synonyme de *γυναικονόμος*, surveillant de la conduite des femmes. Ce serait le *κόσμος* des silènes, comme il y a à Athènes un *κοσμητής* des éphèbes.<sup>10</sup> Il aurait réglé uniquement les évolutions et les danses de ces choristes du culte. Mais on objectera à cette interprétation que le cosmète bachique, quand nous pouvons fixer sa mission, ne doit pas contrôler ou châtier les silènes, mais à l'aide de ceux-ci punir les bacchants dont la conduite provoquait le scandale. De plus, notre dédicace de Torre Nova ne mentionne pas de *σειληνοί*. Ceux-ci n'ont

<sup>1</sup> Michel, 1564; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1109, l. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 136-145.

<sup>3</sup> Chez les orgéons de Beléa au Pirée: Dittenberger *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1111, 13, et à Délos, *B.C.H.* VI, 1882, p. 397; cf. Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> Maass, *Orpheus*, 1895, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1115, 26; cf. Quandt, p. 123.

<sup>6</sup> Athénée, 197: *Τῆς δὲ Διονυσιακῆς πομπῆς πρῶτοι μὲν προῆσαν οἱ τὸν δῆλον ἀνέλεγοντες Σειληνοί, πορφυράς χλαμύδας, οἱ δὲ φοινικίδας, ἡμφιεσμένοι.*

<sup>7</sup> Précédant les personnifications de l'Année et des Saisons (198a). Derrière une outre gigantesque traînée sur un char, *Σάτυροι καὶ Σειληνοί ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι ἑσπεφανωμένοι, φέροντες ὁ μὲν οἶνοχόας, οἱ δὲ φιάλας, οἱ δὲ θηρυκλείους μεγάλας, πάντα χρυσᾷ* (199b). Plus loin *δύων ἴλαι πέντε, ἐφ' ὧν ἦσαν Σειληνοί καὶ Σάτυροι ἑσπεφανωμένοι.*

<sup>8</sup> Plut., *Ant.* 24: *Εἰς Ἐβερσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ (Ἀντωνίου) γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς βάκχας, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πάνας ἡγοῦντο διεσκεvasμένοι.* Theodore, *Gr. affect. cur.* VII, p. 885, Schulze: *Τίς γὰρ τῶν ἀγαν λαγνιστάτων ἔβον ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ τετὸν τοιαῦτα, ὅποια τῶν Σατύρων ὁ χορὸς ἡσέλγησε δημοσίᾳ πομπῆων ἔχων ἐν μέσῳ τὸν Σειληνὸν καὶ τὸν Πάνα, τὸν μὲν ἐπιλυτῶντα ταῖς βάκχασι, τὸν δὲ λελυμένον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, τὸν τοῦ θηλυδρίου παιδὸς παιδαγωγὸν καλοῦμενον.* Sur les danses des Satyres et des *βουκόλοι* dans les villes d'Ionie et du Pont (Lucien, *De Saltatione*, 79), cf. *infra*, p. 248.

<sup>9</sup> Pollux, VIII, 112. Le mot, qui figure dans nos dictionnaires, a été tiré de mss. qui donnent *γυναικονόμοι*; cf. l'éd. Bethe, II, p. 135. Son existence est donc douteuse.

<sup>10</sup> Sur le *κοσμητής* des éphèbes athéniens et le *κόσμος* des villes de Crète, cf. *Realenc.* s.v.

pas dans ce thiasé, formé une classe spéciale de mystes; le *σειληνόςκοσμος* n'y commande à aucun *ἱππος*. Il faut donc comprendre ce mot, semble-t-il, comme un composé copulatif du même genre que *παπποσειληνος*, c'est-à-dire qu'il désigne le silène-cosmète. Le fonctionnaire qui veillait à la bonne tenue des membres du collège, avait gardé le nom et l'aspect d'un silène, armé du thyrsé, à peu près comme les suisses de nos églises ont conservé leur ancien uniforme et leur hallebarde. Le rôle que la mythologie prêtait au vieux Silène, éducateur et moniteur de Bacchus, a peut-être inspiré la création du *σειληνοκόσμος*. Peut-être aussi la fonction de chorège, qui appartient à un silène de Pergame, s'est elle étendue ailleurs jusqu'à celle de gardien de l'ordre dans toutes les cérémonies.<sup>1</sup>

## ΚΙΣΤΑΦΟΡΟΙ

(Trois noms féminins)

Bien connues sont les monnaies cistophores (*cistophori*) d'Asie Mineure, qui représentent le serpent de Dionysos-Sabazios sortant de la corbeille mystique, qu'entoure une couronne de lierre.<sup>2</sup> Elles montrent l'importance qu'avait dans la religion bachique, comme dans celle d'Eleusis, la ciste sacrée, qui d'ailleurs est représentée sur de nombreux monuments figurés de cette religion.<sup>3</sup> Rien de surprenant que cette ciste, qui cachait aux yeux des profanes les symboles mystiques,<sup>4</sup> ait été portée dans les processions.<sup>5</sup> Déjà au temps de Démosthène le ou la *κιστοφόρος* parcourait les rues d'Athènes dans les cortèges de Sabazios.<sup>6</sup> Dans notre thiasé italien des femmes, au nombre de trois, s'avançaient avec la corbeille mystique presque immédiatement derrière la statue du dieu. Leur nom de *κισταφόρος* se retrouve dans une inscription bachique d'Apollonie de Thrace<sup>7</sup> et en Macédoine

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 245; cf. *Hymn. Orph.* LIV, 4: Θιάσου νομίον τελετάρχα.

<sup>2</sup> Babelon, *Traité de numismatique*, I, pp. 511 ff.; Regling dans *Realenc.*, s.v. *Kistophoren*.

<sup>3</sup> Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Cista mystica*; *Realenc.*, s.v. *Cista*, col. 2591 ff. Cette ciste mystique est un panier cylindrique, fermé par un couvercle. On ne peut donner ce nom aux corbeilles plates, recouvertes d'une étoffe, qui figurent dans la scène de sacrifice de la "Villa des Mystères" à Pompéi, cf. *supra*, p. 243. Celles-ci sont des *κανᾶ*, *canistra*, qui appartiennent aussi au culte dionysiaque; cf. Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Canistrum*, fig. 1124 et *infra*, n. p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> Dans les peintures bachiques d'un tombeau d'Ostie (cf. *supra*, p. 236, n. 1), on voit figurée la ciste mystique avec l'inscription MYSTERIA. Un passage bien connu de Clément d'Alexandrie (*Protrept.* II, 22, p. 19 P), qui a été commenté par Otto Jahn dans son article fondamental sur la "Cista Mystica," *Hermes* III, 1869, pp. 328 ff.), nous en révèle le contenu, mais en dehors du *δράκων*, *ὄργιον* *Διονύσου* *Βασσάρου* on ne distingue pas toujours clairement ce qui, dans l'énumération du polémiste chrétien, se rapporte spécialement au culte de Bacchus. Les *ροιαί*, *κράδαι*, *νάρθηκές τε καὶ κιστοί* doivent nécessairement lui appartenir. Mais aussi des gâteaux cités par Clément, certains faisaient partie des *ιερά* dionysiaques (cf. Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* XLVIII, 1924, p. 134). Un papyrus de Gurob nous apporterait des précisions précieuses, s'il n'était criblé de lacunes (Kern, *Orphicorum fragm.*, 31, I, 24 ff.): *Εἰς Διόνυσος σὺμβολα . . . εἰς τὸν κάλαθον ἐμβαλεῖν . . . κῶνος, ῥόμβος, ἀστράγαλοι . . . ἱσοπτρος*. Cf. le symbole éleusinien, *Φαβὸν ἐκ κίστης ἐργασάμενος (ἐγγενεσάμενος) ἀπὸ θύμης εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην* (Clément, *Protrept.* II, 21, p. 18 P; cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 376 ff.)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Catulle, LXIV, 260: *Pars (des bachantes) obscura cavis celebrabant orgia cistis*.

<sup>6</sup> Démosthène, XVIII, 260. Je me range à l'opinion de ceux qui pensent qu'il faut lire *κιστοφόρος* avec Harpocrate (s.v.) au lieu de *κιστοφόρος* des mss. En effet le mot est associé à *κιστοφόρος* comme dans l'inscription citée note 7. Cependant la *κισσοφορία* est mentionnée dans une inscription de Hiéra dans l'île de Lesbos, *I.G.* XII, II, 484 = *I.G.R.* IV, 116.

<sup>7</sup> *C.I.G.* 2052 = Le Bas, 1555 = Dumont-Homolle, p. 457, n°. 11d. Il faut restituer non *Βάκ[χιος]* *Μέρωνος κισταφόρος*, mais *Βακχία* ou un autre nom féminin.

dans une dédicace qui l'est peut-être aussi.<sup>1</sup> À Cyzique, neuf *κιστάρχοι*<sup>2</sup> semblent avoir rempli le même office. Sous l'Empire, ces porte-ciste passèrent dans le culte bachique d'au moins une province latine: Une dédicace de Thamugadi en Afrique nomme des *cistiferi pedisequari*,<sup>3</sup> qui doivent être ceux qui suivent les processions en portant la corbeille sacrée.

Une épitaphe métrique de Philippos décrivant un *komos* bachique des Champs Elysées y fait figurer des *Naiades canistriferae*.<sup>4</sup> Ce mot poétique, qui ne se retrouve nulle part ailleurs, ne désigne probablement pas des cistophores, mais bien des canéphores, le *κάνεον* ayant été employé comme la ciste dans les mystères dionysiaques.<sup>5</sup>

En dehors des collèges bachiques, les porte-ciste se rencontrent dans plusieurs cultes d'Asie-Mineure, qui peut-être les ont empruntés soit à Dionysos, soit à Déméter. Un bas-relief nous montre les galles de Cybèle soutenant sur leurs épaules un brancard où, sur le trône de la déesse, est posée la corbeille mystique.<sup>6</sup> Un cérémonial analogue dût exister dans les temples cappadociens: Les *cistophori* ou *cistiferi* de Mâ-Bellone, transportés en Occident, sont mentionnés dans les inscriptions d'Italie et d'Afrique.<sup>7</sup>

APXIBOYKOΛOI  
(Trois noms masculins)

BOYKOΛOI IEPOI  
(Sept noms masculins)

Plus bas: BOYKOΛOI  
(Onze noms masculins)

Les "bouvier" et les "archibouvier" du culte bachique, sont bien connus, mais entre eux s'intercale dans notre liste un degré intermédiaire les "bouvier sacrés" qui doivent représenter une catégorie plus élevée de *βουκόλοι*, ayant subi une initiation spéciale. On les rapprochera des *ιεροί βάκχοι* (p. 258).

À propos de la mention de ces titres dans notre dédicace nous n'avons pas à reprendre toutes les controverses qu'ils ont déjà provoqués.<sup>8</sup> Il suffira de résumer les faits essentiels: A une époque primitive, Dionysos fut vénéré sous la forme d'un taureau et son culte a gardé des traces très distinctes de cette conception archaïque;<sup>9</sup> ce dieu-taureau était adoré par des bouvier, qui exécutaient en son honneur des

<sup>1</sup> Avezou et Picard, *B.C.H.* XXXVII, 1913, p. 97: 'Η γαλακτηφόρος κισταζορήσασα ἐτη λ'. Nous reviendrons sur ce texte curieux à propos des *ἀντροφόλακες* (p. 259).

<sup>2</sup> Th. Reinach, *B.C.H.* XIV, 1890, p. 538, n. 3. Cf. Quandt, pp. 130, 265. La pierre porte ΚΤΙΣΑΡΧΟΙ.

<sup>3</sup> Dessau, 3368: *Liber[o] pat[ri] Aug. sacrum. L. Calpurnius Fortunatus cistifer pedisequarius et Iulia Pattara uxor pedisequaria et Calpurnius Restitutus fil. cistifer pedisequarius et Calpurnia Fortunata fil. pedisequaria et Calpurnii Fortunati filii pedisequari, votum solverunt.*

<sup>4</sup> Bücheler, *Carm. epigr.*, 1233 = *C.I.L.* III, 686.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 246, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Tillyard, *J.R.S.* VII, 1913, pp. 284 ff. et nos *Religions Orientales*<sup>4</sup>, p. 53, fig. 3. Comparer l'inscription d'Andanie (Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 736, 30), qui cite dans le cortège *αἱ παρθέναι αἱ ἱεραὶ . . . ἀγούσαι τὰ ἄρματα ἐπικείμενα κίστας ἐχούσας ἱερὰ μυστικά.*

<sup>7</sup> Rome: *C.I.L.* VI, 2233 = Dessau 4182; cf. *Religions Orientales*<sup>4</sup>, Pl. II, 2: *Cistophoro aedis Bellonae*. Gsell, *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, I, 2071 (Madaure): [Nomina cistiferorum deae Virtutis, (Bellone), au nombre de treize. *Ibid.* 2996 = Dessau 5432 (Théveste): *Coronatus cistifer*. *Annuaire de Constantine*, XL, 1906, p. 169 = *Année épigraphique*, 1907, n° 229 (Sigus): *Cistifer*. On trouve aussi un *cistifer* de Silvanus, *Rev. Arch.*, X, 1907, p. 484.

<sup>8</sup> Il suffira de renvoyer à l'exposé d'Otto Kern dans *Realenc.*, s.v. Βουκόλοι (t. III, p. 1013). Cf. Quandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 238.

danses rustiques et ces *βουκόλοι* survécurent dans les mystères bachiques et continuèrent à se livrer à leur choréographie, costumés en pâtres. C'est ce que prouvent notamment des inscriptions de Pergame,<sup>1</sup> qui nous apprennent que dans le culte de Dionysos Kathégemôn, les *βουκόλοι* apparaissaient dans une pompe qui se célébrait tous les trois ans; ils y figuraient dans des chœurs avec des silènes (p. 245), des *ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι* leur enseignaient les hymnes qu'ils devaient chanter, un *διαταξιαρχος*<sup>2</sup> leur apprenait à se ranger proprement, et ils avaient à leur tête un *ἀρχιβούκολος* qui dirigeait leur instruction et leurs ébats et présidait à ces divins mystères.<sup>3</sup>

Les "bouviers" et leur "archibouvier" se retrouvent dans d'autres parties de l'Asie Mineure<sup>4</sup> et à Rome<sup>5</sup> et leurs danses n'avaient pas partout la dignité harmonieuse d'un chœur de théâtre. Elles paraissaient avoir conservé dans certaines contrées le caractère violent et même extatique qui a dû leur appartenir à l'origine.<sup>6</sup> Comme elles existaient de tout temps à Lesbos,<sup>7</sup> elles ont dû passer dans le thiase de Torre Nova.

Notre inscription ne révèle rien de nouveau sur le caractère de ces mystes, mais elle permet de trancher définitivement une question discutée, celle de savoir si les *βουκόλοι* formaient des collèges distincts des associations dionysiaques ou bien étaient choisis dans le sein de celles-ci pour remplir les fonctions qui leur incombaient et formaient une catégorie particulière des bacchants.<sup>8</sup> Nous voyons clairement grâce à notre document que la seconde opinion est la vraie, mais ce texte ne nous apprend malheureusement pas si les *βουκόλοι* étaient désignés par les prêtres ou élus par leurs coreligionnaires.

Dans le collège de Torre Nova ces *βουκόλοι* et leur chefs occupent une place assez restreinte, une vingtaine de noms sur plus de cinq cents, mais il en étaient autrement dans d'autres confréries bachiques. L'*ἀρχιβούκολος* paraît y avoir été un personnage d'une toute autre importance<sup>9</sup> et à Rome, vers la fin du paganisme, l'*archibucolus* devait rester encore le plus haut dignitaire des mystères de *Liber pater*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fränkel, *Inscr. von Pergamon*, 485 ff., cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 1115 et les notes; *I. Gr. Rom.* IV, 386 et 396.

<sup>2</sup> Sur le *διαταξιαρχος*, cf. Quandt, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, *l.c.*: *Οἱ βουκόλοι ἐτέλεσαν Σωτήρα Ἀρτεμιδώρου τὸν ἀρχιβούκολον διὰ τὸ εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ Καθηγέμονος Διονύσου προῖστασθαι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων*. L'*archibucolus* est nommé aussi dans les inscriptions 486 à 488 de Fränkel.

<sup>4</sup> Βουκόλος à Ephèse (*Brit. Mus.* III, 602d, 22, 25); ἀρχιβούκολος à Philadelphie (*infra*, note 9) et à Périnthe (*ibid.*); dans le Pont, *infra*, n. 6; βουκόλος à Apollonie de Thrace (*C.I.G.* 2052 = Dumont-Homolle, p. 457, n° 11d), etc.; cf. Quandt, p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> Rome: Βουκόλος *I.G.* XIV, 2045. *Archibucolus*, cf. *infra*, note 10.

<sup>6</sup> Himérius, *Or.* III, 5: *Διόλοι μαίονται τῷ θεῷ καὶ χοροῖουσιν ἐπειδὴν ἔαρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέγκη ὁ ἥλιος*. Cf. Lucien, *De Saltatione*, 79: *Ἡ μὲν γὰρ βακχικὴ ὄρχησις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη, καίτοι σατυρικὴ οὖσα, οὕτω κεχείρωται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐκεί ὥστε . . . κάθηται δι' ἡμέρας τιτάνας καὶ κορύβαντας καὶ σατύρους καὶ βουκόλους ὄρῶντες καὶ ὀρχοῦνται γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ ἐγγενέστατοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων οὕχ ὅπως αἰδοῦμενοι*. Comparer St. Augustin, *Epître*, 17, 4 (à Maxime de Madaure), où à propos de Bacchus il parle des "*decuriones et primates civitatis per plateas vestrae urbis bacchantes et furentes*." Cf. en général Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 158.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Lykophron, 212: *Δαίμων Ἐνὸρχης ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Λεσβίοις . . . ἐνὸρχης λέγεται διότι μετ' ὀρχήσῃ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελεῖται τὰ μυστήρια*. L'etymologie donnée de Ἐνὸρχης est fautive (cf. *infra*, p. 253, n. 2), mais le fait rapporté doit être exact. Cf. *infra*, p. 260. <sup>8</sup> Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 44; cf. Quandt, *l.c.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 11, n° 8 (Philadelphie), où l'*ἀρχιβούκολος* est nommé seul à côté du *ιεροφάντης*. À Périnthe, au dessous d'un oracle de la Sibylle relatif aux mystères de Bacchus, on lit, Σπίλλιος Εὐθύθης ἀρχιβούκολος Ἡρακλείου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιμυστοῦντος Ἀλέξανδρος σπείραρχος (Quandt, p. 251).

<sup>10</sup> *C.I.L.* VI, 504 (= Dessau 4153), 510 (= Dessau 4152), 1675 (= Dessau 1264), toutes du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle.



Les βουκόλοι ne paraissent pas avoir existé en Egypte, où peut-être leurs danses avaient été abolies, ou bien remplacées par celles des Silènes (p. 245), mais ce fait ne suffirait pas à expliquer l'absence générale de représentations figurées de ces serviteurs de Bacchus. Cependant on n'en a jusqu'ici signalé aucune. Toutefois l'on voit souvent dans les scènes dionysiaques les satyres tenant le *pedum*, qui est l'attribut des pasteurs, et peut-être cet insigne suffit-il à les désigner comme étant des βουκόλοι.

## APXIBACCAPOI APXIBACCAPAI

(Deux noms masculins et quatre noms féminins)

Βασσάρα était un nom, peut-être lydien, du renard et il désigna par suite les Ménades qui se couvraient de la dépouille de ce carnassier. Bacchus lui-même dut à celui-ci son surnom de βασσαρεύς.<sup>1</sup> Déjà Eschyle avait écrit une tragédie intitulée Βασσάραι qui mettait en scène la fable d'Orphée déchiré par les Ménades.<sup>2</sup> Βασσάρα devint par la suite, d'une façon générale, un synonyme de bacchante.<sup>3</sup> Une ἀρχι-βασσάρα est donc une directrice ou conductrice des bacchantes: ce titre ne s'était trouvé encore que dans une seule dédicace d'Apollonie de Thrace.<sup>4</sup> Les βασσάραι ne sont pas mentionnées dans notre catalogue, mais sans doute les βάκχαι n'en diffèrent-elles point et c'étaient elles vraisemblablement qui étaient placées sous les ordres de l'ἀρχιβασσάρα.

Le sens d'ἀρχιβάσσαρος, inconnu jusqu'ici, est plus douteux; il pourrait s'appliquer à un dignitaire qui partagerait avec l'ἀρχιβασσάρα à la direction des βασσάραι, c'est-à-dire des bacchantes. Mais les deux titres sont, dans notre liste, placés si loin l'un de l'autre qu'il ne peut guère s'agir d'une fonction commune. Il paraît donc probable que l'on a forgé le composé ἀρχιβάσσαρος par analogie d'ἀρχιβασσάρα pour désigner le chef des βάκχοι (p. 258), bien que le mot βάσσαρος n'existe pas.<sup>5</sup>

Dans la procession de Ptolémée Philadelphie après les porteuses de λίκνα (p. 251) venaient Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Βασσάραι καὶ Λυδαί, c'est-à-dire les bacchantes de Macédoine et de Lydie. Elles avaient les cheveux épars et étaient couronnées les unes de serpents, les autres de smilax, de vigne ou de lierre; elles tenaient dans les mains soit des poignards, soit des serpents.<sup>6</sup> La peau de renard semble donc ne plus avoir été à cette époque le signe distinctif des βασσάραι.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes*, II, pp. 107 ff.; Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v.; *Realenc.*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Eschyle, fr. 23-25, Nauck.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 235, n. 4; dans les inscriptions βασσάρα n'apparaît, semble-t-il, qu'une seule fois: à Ephèse, *Inscr. du British Museum*, III, 2, n° 602 B. 24; cf. Quandt, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.G., 2502 = Dumont-Homolle, *Inscr. de la Thrace*, n° 111d (p. 457 des *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigr.*, 1902).

<sup>5</sup> On ne le trouve que pour βασσαρεύ comme épithète de Dionysos, dans les Hymnes Orphiques, XLV, 3: Βάσσαρε καὶ Βακχεύ.

<sup>6</sup> Athénée, p. 198e: Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Μακέτας αἱ καλουμέναι Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Βασσάραι καὶ Λυδαί, κατακεχυμέναι τὰς τρίχας καὶ ἐστεφανωμέναι τινὲς μὲν ὄφειν, αἱ δὲ μίλακι καὶ ἀμπέλῳ καὶ κισσῷ· κατεῖχον δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν αἱ μὲν ἐγχειρίδια, αἱ δὲ ὄφεις. Cf. le cortège bachique qui accueillit Antoine à Ephèse, Plutarque, *Vit. Ant.*, 24: Γυναῖκες εἰς βάκχας ἡγοῦντο δισκευασμέναι.

<sup>7</sup> Lenormant a voulu reconnaître cette peau de renard dans la dépouille portée par une Ménade figurée sur un vase de la collection de Luynes (Saglio-Pottier, fig. 805), mais peut-être n'est ce qu'une nébride.



## ΑΜΦΙΘΑΛΕΙC

(Deux noms masculins)

L'enfant impubère, que son innocence rendait digne de recevoir des révélations divines, passait, chez tous les peuples antiques, pour être souvent doué du don de prophétie, et le παῖς ἀφθορος était couramment employé comme médium par les magiciens.<sup>1</sup> De même, l'enfant dont les parents étaient tous deux en vie, appartenait à une famille bénie des dieux, à une maison que n'avait pas souillée une mort<sup>2</sup> et le παῖς ἀμφιθαλής était seul apte à remplir nombre de fonctions sacrées en Grèce,<sup>3</sup> comme à Rome certains prêtres ou *camilli* devaient être *patrimi et matrimi*. De l'adjectif ἀμφιθαλής on forma un substantif ἀμφιθαλής, qui désigna le ministère de ces enfants de chœur. Nous connaissons à Thyatire un ἀμφιθαλής τῶν μεγάλων Ἀντωνίων et dans la même ville un ἀδελφὸς ἀμφιθαλέων.<sup>4</sup> Mais, sauf erreur, on n'avait pas encore constaté la présence d'ἀμφιθαλεῖς dans le clergé de Bacchus et nous ignorons le rôle que le rituel des mystères réservait à ces jeunes acolytes.

On a supposé que l'enfant nu, lisant un texte sacré, dans la première scène de la grande composition qui décore la Villa Igem était un παῖς ἀμφιθαλής<sup>5</sup> et cette interprétation est vraisemblable. D'ailleurs nous savions déjà que des enfants étaient admis à l'initiation. Nous reviendrons sur ce point à propos de l'ἀρχιτέλεος (p. 255).

## ΛΙΚΝΑΦΟΡΟΙ

(Trois noms de femmes)

Le λίκνον, le van, suivant la légende avait servi de berceau à Dionysos enfant, qui lui devait son surnom de Λικνίτης.<sup>6</sup> Rempli de fruits divers, au milieu desquels se dressait le phallus, il était dans un culte agraire l'emblème et l'instrument de la fécondité que procurait le dieu de la végétation,<sup>7</sup> mais plus tard, dans les mystères

<sup>1</sup> Abt, "Apuleius und die Zauberei" (dans *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* IV, 1908, pp. 112, 160 ff.); Hopfner, *Griech. Offenbarungszauber*, I, 1921, p. 236 et *Realenc.*, s.v. *Mageia*, pp. 360 ff. Cf. Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystaspes*, Amsterdam, 1929, pp. 48 ff. et ma note, *Rev. hist. des rel.*, CIII, 1931, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Pour le même motif on trouve inversement, p. ex. en Messénie (Paus. IV, 12, 6), l'obligation de résigner leurs fonctions imposée au prêtre ou à la prêtresse qui perdent un enfant; cf. Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Elles sont énumérées par Stengel, *Realenc.*, s.v. Ἀμφιθαλεῖς (I, 1958; cf. *Suppl.* III, col. 94) et par Fabia dans Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Patrimi*. Pour l'Asie Mineure, ajouter Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 589, 20 ff.: à Magnésie, pour offrir un sacrifice à Zeus Sosipolis, le prêtre et la prêtresse seront assistés de neuf adolescents et de neuf vierges, tous ἀμφιθαλεῖς.

<sup>4</sup> *B.C.H.* X, 1885, p. 415 et XI, 1886, p. 106. On a formé de là à Thyatire le verbe ἀμφιθαλέω; cf. Liddell et Scott, s.v. <sup>5</sup> Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, 1929, p. 350.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Realenc.*, s.v. *Liknites*, *Liknon*. L'habitude de bercer les nouveaux-nés dans un van a été signalée par les folkloristes chez diverses peuples. Sur la signification de cet usage, cf. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn*, I, 1912, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Très caractéristique à cet égard est un bas-relief hellénistique de Munich où l'on voit un *liknon* ainsi garni placé sur un thymiatérion et entouré d'autres objets sacrés (tambourin, torche) dans un temple rustique de Dionysos, tandis qu'au premier plan un paysan conduit un boeuf (Schreiber, *Hellenist. Reliefbilder*, pl. 80 A = Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 519, fig. 148; Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 243, pl. XXXIV b; Reinach, *Rép. rel.* II, pp. 82 ff.). Un grand *liknon* similaire est peint sur une paroi de la maison homérique de Pompéi, cf. Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy*, p. 63. Un autre est soutenu par un enfant nu devant un autel sur un bas-relief du Louvre, notre planche XXXII, 1; cf. Rostovtzeff, p. 78, pl. XV. Un van avec

bachiques comme à Eleusis, on attachait à cet utensile agricole une signification symbolique.<sup>1</sup> Le van agité, épure le blé en le dépouillant de la balle qui l'enveloppe et des pailles, qu'emportent les souffles du vent; il était censé purifier de même les âmes de leur pollution,<sup>2</sup> leurs souillures morales étant conçues comme des croûtes ou des crasses qui y adhéraient.<sup>3</sup> Cette purification par l'air complétait celle qu'on avait obtenue par l'eau et par le feu,<sup>4</sup> et on la trouve figurée sur les monuments: Le van est placé sur la tête du myste, cachée sous un voile (Pl. XXXII, 2; XXXIII, 2).<sup>5</sup> L'imposition du van était sans doute mise en relation avec la légende suivant laquelle Hipta avait reçu Dionysos à sa naissance dans ce berceau improvisé, qu'elle portait sur la tête.<sup>6</sup> Ce même récit nous fait comprendre la λικναφορία des cortèges sacrés.

Démosthène reproche à Eschine d'avoir conduit les thiasés de Sabazios à travers les rues d'Athènes et de s'être complu aux titres de "cistophore et liknophore" que lui donnaient des vieilles femmes.<sup>7</sup> Une inscription de Chéronée relate que sous tel prêtre de Dionysos un certain Satyros portait le van.<sup>8</sup> Dans la procession déjà citée de Ptolémée Philadelphie, après les prêtres, les prêtresses et les ιεροστολισταί<sup>9</sup> venaient <αί> τὰ λίκνα φέρουσαι.<sup>10</sup> Trois femmes étaient chargées de la même fonction d'après notre marbre de Torre Nova, où le rite avait certainement été transporté de Lesbos, car on le retrouve en Asie Mineure.<sup>11</sup>

Un vase d'Arezzo, signé de Perennius, dont le décor représente la purification de Dionysos enfant, certainement comme nous l'avons dit (p. 239) d'après une pièce d'orfèverie hellénistique (Fig. 2), porte une belle figure de "liknophore": une femme vêtue d'un chiton, qui laisse les bras nus, et d'un himation, attaché sur l'épaule, tient de la main gauche abaissée une oenochoé et de la droite elle soutient l'extrémité

le phallus et les fruits est de même porté par un Silène sur un autel (inédit) de la collection Palmerston à Broadlands (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 220, n. 11).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Harrison, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, pp. 292, 324; *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1908, pp. 518 ff., 547-9; Rizzo, "Dionysos Mystes" *Memorie Accademia Napoli*, III, 1914, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Clément d'Alexandrie, *Ecl. proph.* 25 (III, p. 143, Stählin): 'Επειδὴ ὡς τὸν σίτον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχύρου διακρίνει (τοῦτ'ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλικῶν ἐνδύματος), διὰ πνεύματος καὶ τὸ ἀχyron χωρίζεται διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λικνώμενον, οὕτως τὸ πνεῦμα διαχωριστικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν ἐνεργειῶν ὀλικῶν. Servius *Georg.* I, 165: "Mystica vannus Iacchi. Liberi patris sacra ad purgationem animae pertinebant et sic homines eius mysteriis purgabantur, sicut vannis frumenta purgantur."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. notre *Afterlife in Roman Paganism*, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Servius, *Aen.* VI, 741: "In sacris omnibus tres sunt istae purgationes: nam aut taeda purgant et sulphure aut aqua abluunt aut aere ventilant, quod erat in sacris Liberi." Sur cette purification par les éléments, cf. mes *Relig. Orient.*, pp. 202, 310, n. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Lovatelli, *Atti accad. dei Lincei*, XIII, 1884, pp. 591 ff.; Amelung, *Führer in Florenz*, 1897, n. 243; mes *Relig. orientales*, p. 202, fig. 13. Cf. *infra*, p. 252, n. 3. <sup>6</sup> Kern, *Orphic. fragm.*, n. 199, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> Démosthène, *De corona*, 259. Cf. Farnell, *Cults*, V, 188, et les notes.

<sup>8</sup> *I.G.* VII, 3392 (Chéronée): λικναφόρησε Σάτυρος. Cf. Polémon dans Athénée, p. 478D.

<sup>9</sup> Ce titre manque dans notre thiasé. Il semble être particulier au culte égyptien de Dionysos, et paraît avoir été emprunté au clergé d'Isis, dont on faisait chaque jour la toilette (*Rel. or.*, pp. 88 f.) ou du moins à celui de quelque divinité égyptienne (Porphyre, *De abst.*, IV, 8; Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 5553).

<sup>10</sup> Athénée V, 198e.

<sup>11</sup> Sur une monnaie de Germé (Lydie), Dionysos apparaît sur son char suivi d'un ministre du culte portant le van sur la tête. Ce même λικνον avec Dionysos enfant figure sur les monnaies de Magnésie en Ionie et de Nicée en Bithynie: cf. Farnell, *l.c.*, pp. 259, 340, 337 f. De plus un ou une λικναφόρος est nommé dans une liste de mystes d'Apollonie du Pont (*C.I.G.* II, 2502 = Dumont-Homolle, p. 457, n. 111d). La forme en α qu'on retrouve ici paraît être due à l'analogie de κισταφόρος. Cf. *supra*, p. 246.

du van posé sur sa tête et peut-être rempli de fruits parmi lesquels apparaît le bout d'un phallus.<sup>1</sup>

ΦΑΛΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ

(Un nom féminin)

Immédiatement après les trois λικναφόροι vient une φαλλοφόρος. Le phallus sacré, comme le prouve les monuments, était dans une cérémonie mystique, apporté dans un van recouvert d'un linge et c'était un moment solennel de la liturgie que celui où l'on découvrait aux initiés cet emblème de la génération (Pl. XXXIII, 1).<sup>2</sup> Dans un certain rite d'initiation, on versait semble-t-il, sur la tête du myste incliné tout le contenu d'un λίκνον: des fruits variés et un phallus probablement de pâte (Pl. XXXII, 2).<sup>3</sup> Mais la pratique la plus primitive, usitée parmi les populations rustiques de la Thrace comme de la Grèce, consistait à promener à travers les campagnes des phallus de bois ou de cuir pour assurer la réussite de la récolte.<sup>4</sup> Cet usage remonte à l'époque préhellénique et il s'est conservé dans les Balkans jusqu'à nos jours.<sup>5</sup> L'organe de la fécondation animale était censé éveiller la vie végétale et favoriser la fertilité des champs. En Attique, les phallophories faisaient partie des Dionysies dans les dèmes comme dans la cité.<sup>6</sup> Elles restèrent dans tout le monde grec un élément essentiel du culte bachique.<sup>7</sup> Le simulacre ainsi montré aux foules était souvent de dimensions énormes.<sup>8</sup> Un phallus de bois, qui à en juger par son prix, devait être gigantesque, était charrié à Délos en l'honneur de Dionysos.<sup>9</sup> Dans la procession de Ptolémée Philadelphie, on promena aussi sur un char un phallus d'or de cent vingt coudées, orné de bandelettes et portant sur sa pointe

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Chase, *The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery*, New York, 1908, pl. I, 1, 2, pp. 40 ff.; cf. Rizzo, *Dionysos Mystes*, pp. 41 ff. et fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Stuc de la Farnésine d'après Wadsworth, "Stucco Reliefs," *Memoirs American Academy in Rome*, IV, 1924, pl. IX et pp. 32 ff., où l'on trouvera la bibliographie. Cf. Rizzo, *Dionysos Mystes*, pp. 80 ff.; cf. pp. 54 ff.; Bieber, *Jb. Arch. I.* XLIII, 1928, p. 308; Maiuri, *La Villa dei misteri*, 1931, p. 151 et pl. P. Cette scène du dévoilement du phallus est reproduite aussi dans la mosaïque de Djémila, cf. *supra*, p. 263, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Les δράματα accomplis dans les mystères, pour autant que les monuments permettent de les reconstituer, semblent avoir comporté d'abord une imposition du van, contenant les symboles encore voilés, sur la tête de l'ordinand, puis, après que ces symboles eussent été découverts, on les faisait tomber sur le myste incliné pour les recevoir. Cf. Rizzo, *Dionysos Mystes*, pp. 54 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy*, 1928, p. 54, pl. V, p. 96, pl. XX et mes *Religions orientales*, pl. XVI, 2; cf. toutefois le bas-relief du Louvre déjà cité plus haut, Pl. XXXII, 2, où l'action est différente.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarque, *De cup. dir.*, p. 527D; cf. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 1906, pp. 253 ff.; Farnell, *Cults*, V, pp. 197, 205.

<sup>5</sup> Dawkins, *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 111 ff.; cf. Farnell, V, p. 107: à Viza des hommes enveloppés de peaux de boucs escortent un personnage qui porte un phallus de bois.

<sup>6</sup> Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.* LIII, 1928, pp. 96-108, a montré la part considérable laissée aux rites phalliques dans les diverses fêtes de Dionysos à Athènes, et traité avec érudition des motifs qui les ont fait introduire dans le culte du dieu. Cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 1932, pp. 135 f., 141 f.

<sup>7</sup> Athénée (p. 445b), à propos du comique Anthéas de Lindos, emploie *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ φαλλοφοροῦντες* comme synonyme de *σύμβακχοι*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 622d, la description du costume des φαλλοφόροι dans une représentation théâtrale.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. la représentation comique d'un phallogogie sur un vase à figures noires publié par Heydemann, *Winckelmannsprog.* III, Halle, 1879, et reproduite par Dietrich, *Mutter Erde*<sup>2</sup>, 1913, pp. 107 ff., 135; cf. Nilsson, p. 204. Des organes virils en pierre d'une grosseur considérable étaient consacrés comme monuments choragiques, ainsi que l'a montré Buschor, *l.c.*

<sup>9</sup> Les textes ont été réunis et commentés par Valois, *B.C.H.* XLVI, 1922, pp. 94 ff.

une étoile.<sup>1</sup> A côté d'une pareille exhibition, la φαλλοφόρος unique de notre liste joue un rôle bien modeste et il semble qu'à Rome un culte policé ait cherché à réduire le plus possible une ostension obscène, qu'on ne pouvait supprimer. On n'a pas à ma connaissance trouvé d'autre mention des φαλλοφόροι dans le clergé dionysiaque à Lesbos ou en Asie Mineure.<sup>2</sup>

# ΤΥΡΦΟΡΟΣ

(Un nom masculin)

Peut-être ce titre sacré a-t-il été emprunté aux mystères d'Eleusis comme ceux de hiérophante et de dadouque. On trouve en effet à Eleusis, au moins sous l'Empire, un πυρφόρος parmi les desservants subalternes.<sup>3</sup> Le caractère général de cet office est indiqué par son nom même. À Sparte, on désignait ainsi celui qui portait devant l'armée le feu du sacrifice offert avant la campagne et qui avait le devoir de le tenir constamment allumé;<sup>4</sup> à Athènes, ceux qui y amenaient de Delphes, sur un char, le feu pris à l'autel d'Apollon Pythien.<sup>5</sup> La fonction aura été analogue dans les autres cultes où les inscriptions mentionnent son existence: <sup>6</sup> elle aura consisté à "apporter le feu" nécessaire aux sacrifices ou aux autres cérémonies rituelles. Un pareil transfert pouvait parfois se faire à l'aide d'une torche, mais il ne faut pas confondre cependant le πυρφόρος et le δαδούχος, car là où nous pouvons préciser le rôle du premier, il diffère entièrement de celui de ce dernier (p. 239).<sup>7</sup> Quels ont été dans la liturgie secrète des mystères bachiques les actes que devait accomplir le πυρφόρος, nous l'ignorons, et il n'est même pas certain qu'il y intervint. Dans les processions

<sup>1</sup> Athénée, 201e: Φαλλὸς χρυσοῦς πηχῶν ρέ', διαγεγραμμένος καὶ διαδεμένος στέμμασι διαχρύσοις, ἔχων ἐπ' ἀκροῦ ἀστέρα χρυσοῦν, οὗ ἦν ἡ περίμετρος πηχῶν σ'. Comparer les phallus, grands comme des mats, dressés à l'entrée du temple d'Hiérapolis et qui passaient pour avoir été consacrés par Dionysos (Lucien, *Dé dea Syria*, 16, 28 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Cependant le titre δ' Ἐνὸρχης porté par le dieu à Lesbos et qui certainement a été interprété comme un synonyme de ἑνὸρχος (Hesych., cf. Liddell et Scott, s.v.), bien que son vrai sens soit probablement différent (*Realenc.*, s.v.), présuppose des rites de fécondation. Le phallus est souvent en Phrygie et en Lydie placé sur les tombes comme symbole d'une génération nouvelle, cf. Dieterich, *l.c.*, pp. 104, 135; Ludwig Curtius, *Festschrift für L. Klages*, 1932. On le trouve en particulier à Pergame, cf. Jacobsthal, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1908, 427. Il est difficile de ne pas établir un rapport entre cet usage et le culte de Dionysos Sabazios pratiqué dans ces pays.—En Égypte, phallophories d'Osiris, qu'Hérodote, II, 48, appelle Dionysos; cf. Wiedemann, *Herodotos' Zweites Buch*, 1890, pp. 223 ff.

<sup>3</sup> D'après Pollux, I, 35 et un catalogue du temps des Sévères; cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914, pp. 210, 222; Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Pyrphoros*. <sup>4</sup> Xenoph., *Resp. Lac.*, XIII, 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 98; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, pp. 173, 176; Colin, *Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes*, 1905, p. 90, n. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Argos, Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* XXXIII, 1909, p. 175 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 3, 735, 10. À Epidaure, dans le temple d'Esculape, le pyrphoros devait être un personnage assez considérable, car après son année de charge on le voit consacrer un autel, Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 3, 842; cf. 995 (où le mot, deux fois répété, prend la forme πυροφόρος); 1168, 40 (ὁ παῖς ὁ τῷ θεῷ πυροφόρῳ; cf. Stengel, *op. cit.*, 46, 51). À Thespies, les *Mouseia* sont célébrés avec l'assistance d'un πυρφόρος (*B.C.H.* XIX, 1895, 361 ff.; Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Mouseia*); cf. *B.C.H.* IX, 1885, p. 423 = *IG VII*, 1667 (Platéas). Un navire transportait chaque année le feu sacré (πυρφορεῖ) de Délos à Lemnos (Philostate, *Heroic.* XX, 24, p. 740).

<sup>7</sup> Liddell et Scott (éd. de 1890) établit la synonymie πυρφορεῖω = δαδουχεῖω d'après Euripide, *Troyennes*, 342 ff. Ἡφαιστε δαδουχεῖς . . . οὐ γὰρ ὀρθὰ πυρφορεῖς, mais c'est un emploi poétique du mot. De même, quand les Scholies aux *Phénic.* 1377 assurent que les πυρφόροι étaient des prêtres d'Arès qui jetaient une torche entre les armées pour donner le signal du combat, ce renseignement est très sujet à caution. Cf. Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v., *Faz*, p. 1028.



où il suivait immédiatement les λικναφόροι et la φαλλοφόρος, il portait sans doute ou une lampe allumée ou des braises ardentes sur un *thymiatérion*. Apulée,<sup>1</sup> décrivant le pompeux cortège du *Navigium Isidis*, nous montre un premier prêtre s'avancant en tenant un luminaire d'or, en forme de nacelle, d'où s'échappe une large flamme et suivi d'un autre supportant de ses deux mains un autel. Dans le culte royal des Ptolémées un πυρφόρος paraît aussi avoir figuré à Alexandrie dans un cortège officiel.<sup>2</sup> Ce titre ne semble pas se retrouver ailleurs dans un document relatif au clergé de Bacchus.<sup>3</sup>

#### ΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΩΝ

(Un nom masculin)

Les hiéromnémons, administrateurs des biens religieux, s'occupant des intérêts matériels des cultes, sont bien connus, et nous n'avons pas à détailler ici leurs fonctions, variables suivant les cités, de greffiers, archivistes ou trésoriers.<sup>4</sup>

Nous n'avons à les considérer que dans leurs rapports avec les collèges dionysiaques. A Tauroménium en Sicile, vers l'an 100 avant notre ère, des hiéromnémons gèrent les finances des trésors sacrés et s'occupent à la fois de ceux de Zeus et de Dionysos, mais ce sont des magistrats de la ville, non des fonctionnaires d'une association particulière.<sup>5</sup> Beaucoup plus proche de notre catalogue est une inscription de Périnthe,<sup>6</sup> datant du règne de Septime Sévère, qui commémore une consécration faite τῷ βακχείῳ Ἀσιανῶν, c'est-à-dire à un collège de mystes originaires d'Asie ἡγεμονεύοντος Στατιλίου Βαρβάρου, ἱερομνημονούντος Πομπωνίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ ἀρχιμυστοῦντος Μαξιμου τοῦ Κλαυδίου, ἱερατεύοντος Εὐτυχούς Ἐπικτήτου. On a supposé qu'ici aussi l'hiéromnémon, comme le ἡγεμών, pourrait être un magistrat de Périnthe, dont le nom aurait servi à dater la dédicace.<sup>7</sup> Mais notre marbre de Torre Nova rend beaucoup plus probable que c'est une charge sacrée. Les hiéromnémons figurent peut-être aussi dans une inscription de Cyzique<sup>8</sup> où les noms de trois κιστάρχοι sont suivis des lettres ιερ que Th. Reinach a interprétées comme ἱερ(ομνήμων) d'après une autre inscription de la même ville, où ce titre réapparaît.<sup>9</sup>

#### ΑΡΧΙΝΕΑΝΙΚΟΙ

(Un seul nom masculin suit ce pluriel, mais un espace est réservé pour deux autres)

On a trouvé à Rome l'épithaphe d'un certain T. Claudius Domnio *Sucinianus archineaniscus*,<sup>10</sup> et la présence de ce titre grec, dans le vieux clergé latin des Suciniani,

<sup>1</sup> Apulée, *Mét.* XI, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*, I, p. 158 (411); II, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Peut-être cependant l'épigramme 153 de Kaibel a-t-elle été mal restituée et πυρφόρος y apparaît-il non comme une epithète divine, mais comme un titre sacré: Στέμμα δὲ [μοι τεύξαντο] Διοτίσου θιασῶται | πυρφόρου ἐν Διούτι μυστικὰ τ' ἔξεσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> Bouché-Leclercq dans Saglio-Pottier, s.v. *Hieromnemon*; Hepding dans *Realenc.*, s.v. *Hieromnemon*.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.* XIV, 428, 430; cf. Hepding, col. 1494.

<sup>6</sup> *I.G.R.* I, 787.

<sup>7</sup> Poland, *Geschichte des Griech. Vereinswesens*, 1909, pp. 355, 390; Hepding, col. 1493, 30.

<sup>8</sup> *B.C.H.* XIV, 1890, p. 538, n. 3. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 535, n. 1. Cf. Quandt, *op. cit.*, p. 250, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *C.I.L.* VI, 2180 = Dessau 5022: *D. M. Ti. Cl. Domnioni Suciniano archineanisco fecit Cl. Ianuaria suo patri*. Peut-être, comme le note Dessau, le même personnage est-il nommé n. 1810 = *C.I.L.* VI, 9047: *Ti. Cl. Augustorum l. et structori Domnioni Antonia Asia fratri carissimo etc.* — Les *Sacerdotes*



paraît bien être un emprunt à celui de Bacchus. L'*ἀρχινεάνισκος* est évidemment le maître chargé de conduire et d'instruire les adolescents. Nous savons qu'on avait coutume d'initier aux mystères des enfants pour les préserver des maux qui les menaçaient dans l'autre monde, s'ils étaient emportés par une mort prématurée.<sup>1</sup> À Eleusis ces *μούμενοι ἀφ' ἑστίας*, comme on les appelait, se rattachaient peut-être à l'ancien culte familial ou gentile, mais on voit ailleurs aussi des enfants des deux sexes admis parmi les adeptes de cultes secrets, qu'ils soient grecs ou orientaux.<sup>2</sup> Bacchus, selon la légende avait été lui-même initié tout enfant par la nymphe Mystis<sup>3</sup> et il avait ainsi donné à ses sectateurs l'exemple divin qu'ils devaient imiter jusqu'à la fin du paganisme.<sup>4</sup> Plutarque, afin de consoler sa femme de la mort d'une fillette, invoquant τὰ μυστικά σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, développe cette idée que l'âme, qu'une longue accoutumance n'a point attachée à son corps et qui s'échappe rapidement de cette prison charnelle, est plus apte à renoncer à la terre pour aller vivre dans un séjour plus heureux.<sup>5</sup> La même conviction de la félicité réservée aux jeunes initiés, qui n'ont pas atteint l'âge d'homme, se manifeste dans les épitaphes grecques et latines.<sup>6</sup>

Parmi les mystes, les *νεανίσκοι* devaient former une classe spéciale, et si nous avions un *album sacratorum* complet, leurs noms seraient gravés sur la base de Torre Nova. Il ne peuvent avoir compris seulement deux *ἀμφιθαλεῖς* (p. 25). Mais notre marbre ne nous donnant que la liste de ceux qui ont contribué à l'érection de la statue d'Agrippinilla, les adolescents, dépourvus d'argent propre, n'auront point été sollicités pour cette souscription. Nous ignorons quelle part ces *νεανίσκοι* avaient au culte secret, mais certainement ils figuraient dans les processions. Dans le grand cortège de Ptolémée Philadelphie, après les silènes et des satyres venaient cent vingt enfants en tunique de pourpre portant sur des plateaux d'or, l'encens, la myrrhe et le safran.<sup>7</sup>

Il faut distinguer de l'*archineaniscus* le *νεανισκάρχης*, qui dans les gymnases commandait aux éphebes ou aux *νεοί*.<sup>8</sup>

*Suciniani* (C.I.L. VI, 2178, 2179 = I.G. XIV, 1082 = Dessau 5020-5021a) sont expliqués comme ceux du culte d'une cité latine disparue (Wissowa, *Religion der Römer*, p. 521). Si cette explication est exacte, il faut que ce culte se soit combiné de quelque façon avec celui de Bacchus. Une des dédicaces citées est gréco-latine; ce fait, comme le titre d'*archineaniscus*, rattache ces monuments à l'Orient plutôt qu'au Latium.—La qualification étrange de *putei inventor* donnée au prêtre signifierait-il qu'il était sourcier?

<sup>1</sup> J'ai parlé de l'immortalité des enfants à propos d'un sarcophage de Beyrouth, *Syria*, X, 1929, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Syria*, l.c.

<sup>3</sup> Nonnus, *Dionys*. IX, 111 ff.; Rizzo, *Dionysos Mystes*, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Les *πατρόμνηται*, que l'on trouve p. ex. à Smyrne dans un collège bachique (C.I.G. 3173, 3195), sont ceux qui ont été initiés dès leur jeunesse par leur père. Cf. Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarque, *Consol. ad uxorem*, 10, p. 611E. La prêtrise même peut être obtenue à dix ans d'après le règlement de Cos (Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1012).

<sup>6</sup> Kaibel, *Epigr.* 587: Ἐπὶ τὰ μόνους λυκάβαντας δέω καὶ μῆνας ἔζησα | ὧν τρεῖς ἐξετέλουν Διονύσου ὄργια βάζων. Cf. nos. 153, 588 (où, au lieu de Διονύσου καὶ Ἡγεμόνος, il faut peut-être lire Καθηγεμόνος), I.G. XIV, 1990. En latin, C.I.L. III, 686 = Bücheler, *Carm. epigr.* 1233, cf. Staces, *Silves*, II, 6, 97 et Perdrizet, *Mythes et cultes du Pangée*, 1910, pp. 96 ff. Le rhéteur Himérius, *Or.* XXIII, 7, 8, 18, décrit la félicité céleste de son fils défunt, qui avait été initié peu après sa naissance aux mystères de Dionysos comme à ceux d'Eleusis; cf. *Syria*, l.c., p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> Athénée, pp. 197 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 96.

## ΑΤΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΖΩCΕΩC

(Quatre vingt-neuf noms d'hommes et de femmes)

ΒΑΚΧΟΙ ΑΤΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΖΩCΕΩC

(Quinze noms masculins)

ΒΑΚΧΑΙ ΑΤΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΖΩCΕΩC

(Trois noms féminins)

Le mot κατάζωσις manque dans nos dictionnaires, mais son sens général est certain. Il désigne l'action de se ceindre ou par extension de s'habiller de quelque façon. Suivant Suidas, Orphée aurait composé, outre des 'Ιεροστολικά, aussi un livre intitulé Κατάζωστικόν.<sup>1</sup> On ne sait rien de précis sur son contenu, mais Lobeck<sup>2</sup> a conjecturé qu'il traitait des ceintures sacrées dont on entourait la taille des initiés. Il rappelle que dans le culte de Samothrace ceux-ci se nouaient des bandelettes pourpres autour des reins.<sup>3</sup>

Κατάζώννυμι et ses dérivés étaient certainement des termes consacrés dans la religion bachique.<sup>4</sup> Nous en avons une preuve dans une inscription lydienne qui est en connexion étroite avec notre dédicace.<sup>5</sup> Elle montre que dans les confréries dionysiaques le κατάζωσμα formait une catégorie spéciale parmi les mystes composant l'ensemble de la σπείρα. MM. Keil et von Premerstein ont déjà noté qu'elle devait se distinguer par un accoutrement particulier.

Un article du Lexique d'Harpocraton va nous permettre, semble-t-il, de préciser lequel. Démosthène dans son *Discours sur la Couronne*<sup>6</sup> représente son adversaire participant aux mystères de Sabazios τὴν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελομένους. Les grammairiens d'Alexandrie, disputaient sur le sens de νεβρίζων, mais certains l'expliquaient comme une allusion à l'acte de l'initiateur entourant (διαζωννύντος) l'initié de la peau de faon.<sup>7</sup> Les monuments nous montrent d'ailleurs souvent non seulement les Ménades mais les célébrants du culte dionysiaque ceints de la nébride.<sup>8</sup>

Le rite de la κατάζωσις paraît donc non pas avoir été inspiré, comme on l'a cru, par la valeur prophylactique que la magie attribuait aux liens dont on entourait le corps ou les membres,<sup>9</sup> mais se rattacher à l'usage religieux de se couvrir de peaux

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, s.v. 'Ορφεύς. Cf. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta*, p. 307, n° 18; p. 318, n° 30.

<sup>2</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I, 917: Καὶ 'Οδυσσεύς δὲ φασὶ μεμνημένον ἐν Σαμοθράκη χρῆσασθαι τῷ κρηδῖνι ἅντι ταινίας· περὶ γὰρ τὴν κοιλίαν οἱ μεμνημένοι ταινίας ἄπτονται πορφύρας. Cf. Kern dans *Realenc.* s.v. *Kabeiros*, col. 1429.

<sup>4</sup> De là le choix de ce mot dans Eurip. *Bacch.* 696 ff.: Νεβρίδας τ'ἀναστειλαντο . . . καὶ καταστίκτους δοράς ὄρεσι κατεζώσαντο.

<sup>5</sup> Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 11, n° 8. Cf. Keil et von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise in Lydien*, 1911, p. 9; Quandt, p. 179: 'Ἔτους [σλ . . μηνός Πα]ρήμου λ'. Β[ου]λευσαμένου τοῦ [κα]τ'αζώματος βωμ[όν] ἀναστήσαι Καθηγ[ε]μόνι Διονύσῳ [Εὐ]τύχῃς 'Ερμολύκου[ς] ἃ (?) [ἱ]εροφά[ν]της καὶ 'Ερμ[ι]π[ο]ς Μενεκράτου [υἱ] ?]ός, ἀρχιβοόκολος τῆς [σπ]είρας [ὁ]πίσχετο τ[ὴ] κα[τ]α[ζ]ώματι τὸν . . . Cf. sur ce texte, Vogliano, *supra*, p. 219, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Démosthène, *De corona*, 260; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 653.

<sup>7</sup> Harpocraton, p. 212 (éd. Dindorf): Νεβρίζων· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Κηρίφωντος· οἱ μὲν ὡς τοῦ τελοῦντος νεβρίδα ἐννημῆνον ἢ καὶ τοὺς τελομένους διαζωννύντος νεβρίσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ νεβροῦ διασπᾶν κατὰ τινα ἄρρητον λόγον· ἔστι δὲ ὁ νεβρισμός καὶ παρὰ 'Αριγνώτῃ ἐν τῷ περὶ τελετῶν.

<sup>8</sup> Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Nebris*, p. 41 et fig. 5297. Cf. Lactantius Placidus, *ad Theb.* II, 664: "Nebridas, pelles damarum . . . Baccharum indumenta, quibus sacrificiorum tempore uti consueverunt." Cf. le vase de Ruvo reproduit, Pl. XXXI, 1, où la prêtresse sacrifiant porte la nébride.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Kern, *l.c.*; Heckenbach, "De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis" dans *Religionsg. Versuche und Vorarb.*, IX, 3, 1911.

de bêtes fraîchement sacrifiées.<sup>1</sup> Primitivement en endossant cette dépouille sanglante, on croyait transfuser en soi l'énergie vitale d'un animal regardé comme divin et s'identifier avec lui; les Ménades par leurs courses et leurs bonds imitent l'agilité du chevreuil. Puis, par une transition naturelle, le rite devint un mode de rénovation spirituelle et de purification.

Nous ne pouvons pas saisir la distinction qu'on établissait entre ceux que désigne dans notre inscription la simple expression ἀπὸ καταζώσεως et les bacchants et bacchantes qui usent de la même expression comme titre distinctif.

Telle est, semble-t-il, l'explication la plus probable, puisqu'elle s'appuie sur un texte précis d'Harpocraton. Mais une autre interprétation vient à l'esprit: Dans les mystères, le néophyte était souvent habillé de neuf. En abandonnant ses vêtements souillés, il se délivrait, croyait-on, de ses péchés et il se couvrait ensuite d'une tunique immaculée, symbole de son innocence retrouvée.<sup>2</sup> D'autre part, Farnell a réuni les preuves que Bacchus, dieu de la fécondité, empruntait souvent un costume féminin et il a réuni divers indices dont il semble résulter que dans les mystères il existait une cérémonie où les sectateurs du dieu, à l'imitation de celui-ci, prenaient des vêtements de femmes.<sup>3</sup> On remarquera que dans notre liste, alors que pour toutes les autres catégories de mystes, les noms sont exclusivement ou masculins ou féminins, les deux sexes sont mêlés dans la série des initiés ἀπὸ καταζώσεως et qu'aux βάκχοι portant ce titre répondent immédiatement des βάκχαι de la même espèce. Ce pourraient être des bacchants et des bacchantes en travesti. Un groupe nombreux de mystes déguisés aurait pris part aux cortèges bacchiques. De pareilles mascarades sont habituelles dans les cultes orientaux; on les retrouve dans les processions isiaques<sup>4</sup> et dans les fêtes de Cybèle.<sup>5</sup> Le changement de sexe, si vraiment il a été usité, a probablement à l'origine, comme l'a conjecturé Farnell, quelque rapport avec les pratiques destinées à assurer la fertilité des campagnes dans la vieille religion agraire du dieu de la végétation, mais à l'époque romaine on en avait depuis longtemps, n'en doutons pas, imaginé une interprétation morale.<sup>6</sup> Seulement tout ceci repose sur des inductions très hasardeuses et reste conjectural.

Enfin, pour ne négliger aucun élément de comparaison, rappelons que selon le règlement du collège athénien des Iobacches, dans le festin sacré qu'on offrait à Dionysos, ce dieu, Koré, Palémon et Aphrodite étaient figurés par des mystes tirés au sort<sup>7</sup> et qu'évidemment on accoutrait en vue du rôle qu'ils devaient remplir.

<sup>1</sup> J'en ai dit quelques mots à propos des déguisements en animaux des mithriastes, *Mon. myst. Mithra* I, p. 316. Ces déguisements sont fréquents dans les cultes des peuples sauvages, cf. p. ex., Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I, p. 26; S. Reinach, *Mythes, cultes*, I, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. sur ce rite nos *Relig. orientales* 4, p. 217, n. 36; cf. aussi Apulée, *Met.* XI, 24: L'initié, assimilé au dieu solaire, est *duodecim sacratus stolis*, images des signes du zodiaque où passe le soleil dans sa course annuelle.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 161; cf. *Archiv für Religionsw.*, VII, 1904, pp. 75 ff. À Vizia en Thrace, où le carnaval a gardé tous les traits des vieilles bacchanales, comme l'a montré Dawkins, *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 191 ff., certains rôles de femmes sont joués par des hommes et accompagnés de pratiques obscènes. Ailleurs encore en Thrace, le char du roi est accompagné de garçons costumés en filles.

<sup>4</sup> Apulée, *Met.* XI, 8; noter surtout: "Alius soccis obauratis inducta serica veste mundoque pretioso et adtextis capite crinibus feminam mentiebatur."

<sup>5</sup> Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, 1912, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Plutarque, *De Iside et Osiride*, 3 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3, n° 1109, ll. 120 ff. Sur ce rite, cf. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, X, 1932, pp. 31 ff.

Mais dans notre inscription le grand nombre des fidèles rangés sous la rubrique ἀπὸ καταζώσεως empêche d'admettre qu'il puisse s'agir de pareils déguisements en divinités et l'interprétation la plus probable reste celle de l'imposition de la nébride dans l'initiation.

BAKXOI ATTO KATAZΩCEΩC

(Quinze noms masculins)

IEPOI BAKXOI-[BAKXOI]

(Plus de cent noms)

L'inscription, telle que nous l'avons conservée, distingue deux espèces de bacchants, les βάκχοι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως et les ἱεροὶ βάκχοι, qu'on rapprochera des βουκόλοι ἱεροί. On peut supposer qu'après ceux-ci un titre a disparu dans la première colonne de la face mutilée de gauche, et que de simples βάκχοι leurs faisaient suite, comme les "bouviers" tout court sont nommés après les "bouviers sacrés" (p. 247). La présence de ces βάκχοι d'un rang inférieur semble d'ailleurs être postulée par l'existence d'une classe de βάκχοι sans autre épithète.

Nous n'avons pas les moyens de déterminer en quoi ces deux ou trois catégories de bacchants se distinguaient dans les cérémonies des mystères; on peut seulement conjecturer que les βάκχοι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως, c'est-à-dire ceints de la nébride (p. 256) prenaient à la célébration des rites une part plus active que les autres.

Le grand nombre des βάκχοι, comme leur place à la fin de la liste, prouve que c'était le grade qu'on atteignait dès qu'on avait reçu l'initiation, la classe la plus basse en dehors des σειγῆται dont nous parlerons dans un instant, celle qui, composée de tous ceux qui n'avaient pas été promus à une dignité supérieure, formait la grande masse du collège.

Les βάκχος est le myste qui, par la puissance du cérémonial d'initiation s'est identifié avec Bacchus. "The spirit of the god enters into them and therefore for a time they bear his name."<sup>1</sup> L'ivresse envoyée par le dieu du vin était une possession divine, déliant les liens qui entravaient leur âme; leur esprit, franchissant les limites de la conscience rationnelle, entraînait en communion avec la nature entière.<sup>2</sup> Dans la vieille religion dionysiaque, cette extase violente qui mettait l'homme "hors de lui," dégénérait souvent en orgies sauvages et cruelles. Nous dirons un mot à propos des βάκχοι d'une question qui se pose nécessairement à notre esprit: celle de savoir jusqu'à quel point l'emportement désordonné des antiques bacchants pouvait être toléré dans le collège de Torre Nova.

ANTPOΦΥΛΑΚΕC

(Deux noms masculins)

Ce composé, jusqu'ici inconnu, formé à l'imitation de ναοφύλαξ, ἱεροφύλαξ,<sup>3</sup> désigne évidemment les mystes qui ont la garde de l'autel sacré. Dionysos, suivant la fable, était né ou du moins avait été élevé par les nymphes dans une fraîche caverne du mont Nysa et ses sectateurs lui consacrèrent parfois des autels rocheux,

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *Culte*, V, p. 151; cf. 161; cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 978: Ἐδοξε Κνίδιους . . . περὶ ὧν τοὶ Βάκχοι ἐπὶ ἄλλων ὅπως ἀγρεύεται τὸ ἱερὸν Διονύσου τοῦ Βάκχου. Schol. Aristoph., *Equit.* 408.

<sup>2</sup> L'extase dionysiaque a été admirablement analysée et caractérisée par Rohde, *Psyche*, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 15. Cf. Farnell, *Culte*, V, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*<sup>3</sup>, p. 51.



par exemple, à Naxos.<sup>1</sup> Une dédicace de Thessalonique, où il est question d'un σπήλαιον, paraît bien émaner de prêtres et prêtresses de Dionysos.<sup>2</sup> Néanmoins nous n'oserions affirmer absolument que le sanctuaire du collège de Torre Nova ait été établi dans une grotte naturelle. Seules des fouilles permettraient d'en décider. L'autre pouvait être, comme les crèches qu'on reconstitue dans nos églises vers la Noël, une imitation pieuse de celui dont parlait la légende divine. Le péan de Dionysos trouvé à Delphes et savamment commenté par M. Vollgraff, nous a appris que la célébration des jeux pythiques comprenait depuis Alexandre, la construction d'une antre temporaire pour Dionysos,<sup>3</sup> et Antoine se fit faire à Athènes, pour s'y enivrer avec ses amis, un pavillon ombragé de verdure et orné de tambourins et de nébrides à l'imitation des grottes bacchiques.<sup>4</sup> Dans la procession souvent citée déjà de Ptolémée Philadelphie, un char portait une grotte profonde, décorée de lierre et de smilax; durant tout le parcours, des colombes, des ramiers et des tourterelles s'en échappaient, les pieds liés par des rubans pour que les spectateurs pussent plus facilement les saisir; deux sources en jaillissaient, l'une de lait, et l'autre de vin; toutes les nymphes qui l'entouraient portaient des couronnes d'or, Hermès un

<sup>1</sup> Porphyre, *De antro Nymph.* 20; cf. Apollonius de Rhodes, II, 910, sur une grotte de Bacchus près du fleuve Kallichoros en Paphlagonie.—On en rapprochera les légendes sur le séjour de Lycurgue et de Zalmoxis dans des antres; cf. Farnell, *Cults*, V, pp. 100 et 301.

<sup>2</sup> Cette inscription mutilée a été publiée en 1913 par Avezou et Picard, qui ont supposé qu'elle pouvait appartenir au culte de Mithra (*B.C.H.* XXXVII, p. 97): . . . ὁ ἀρχιμαγ[ε]ῖς καὶ ἀρχινεωκόρος καὶ πατὴρ σπηλίου καὶ Αἰρ. Σωσίπατρα ἡ γαλακτοφόρος κισταφορήσασα ἔτη λ' τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. L'origine mithriaque de cette inscription, qui avait été mise en doute, parut être confirmée par la découverte, faite à Histria, d'une dédicace de mystes εἰσὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σπηλίου . . . ὑπηρετούντος πατρὸς εὐσεβοῦς (Parvân, *Dacia*, I, p. 219; cf. Picard, *Revue de Philologie*, LIII, 1927, p. 325). Il est bien certain que *spelaeum* désigne souvent un temple de Mithra et que dans ses mystères, le grade supérieur, était celui de *Pater*. Néanmoins, je ne crois pas que l'inscription de Thessalonique puisse appartenir à ce culte, car nulle part on ne trouve dans celui-ci de femmes, ni comme initiées, ni à plus forte raison comme prêtresses. De plus, les titres sacrés mentionnés dans ce texte n'apparaissent dans aucune des associations mithriaques connues jusqu'ici. Σπήλαιον en grec, il ne faut pas l'oublier, est d'un emploi très général pour désigner une grotte quelconque et *pater*, à l'époque romaine, est un titre commun à beaucoup de collègues (Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 371) et qui n'est pas inconnu dans ceux de Bacchus (Dessau, 3384). J'incline à croire qu'il est ici question d'un antre sacré de Dionysos. La κισταφόρος convient à ses orgies (cf. *supra*) et peut-être les rites de celles-ci permettent-ils d'expliquer la fonction de γαλακτοφόρος restée incompréhensible. Les ménades, dit on, allaitaient des faons (Eurip., *Bacch.* 699: Ἀγκάλαισι δορκάδ' ἔχουσαι λευκὸν ἔλβον γάλα; cf. Nonnus, XIV, 361 f., XXIV, 130 f.) et cet acte, représenté dans une des scènes de la Villa Item à Pompéi (Rizzo, *op. cit.*, p. 70 et pl. III), avait certainement pris une signification mystique. Le ἐριφος εἰς γάλ' ἔπετον des lamelles orphiques de Thurioi (Kern, *Orph. Fragm.*, 32), qui a été diversement interprété (S. Reinach, *Mythes, cultes*, II, pp. 125 ff.), paraît se rapporter au même ordre de croyances. Dionysos était un ἐριφος, le bacchant est un chevreau, comme son dieu, et on l'abreuve de lait (Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 177, 9). Le lait nourriture des enfants est aussi celle des néophytes admis à l'initiation (cf. Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, LVII, 1902, p. 177 f. = *Kleine Schriften* IV, pp. 398 ff.). Ce lait, la γαλακτοφόρος serait chargée de le fournir. Oppien (*Cyneg.* I, 443) parle de γαλακτοφόροι τιθῆναι; cf. Josèphe, *Bell. Iud.*, III, §50.—Je m'aperçois que M. André Boulanger (*Le Génie grec dans la religion*, 1932, p. 461, n. 1), a déjà noté que "le prétendu mithréum de Salonique est très probablement un sanctuaire dionysiaque."

<sup>3</sup> Péan de Delphes, vers 141: Ζαθέω τε τ[ε]υ[ε]λαι θεῶ πρέπον ἄντρον. Cf. Macrobe, *Sat.* I, 18, 3: "Boeotii . . . oraculum Delphicum et speluncas Bacchicas colunt." Cf. Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* LI, 1927, pp. 305, 455 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Athénée, IV, p. 148b: Ἱστορεῖ δὲ (Σωκράτης ὁ Ῥόδιος) . . . Ἀντώνιον ἐν Ἀθήναις . . . ὑπὲρ τὸ θέατρον κατασκευάσαντα σχοῖλαν χλωρῇ πεπυκασμένην ὕλην, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν βακχικῶν ἄντρον γίνεται, ταύτης τίμματα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοπαὰ ἄλλα ἄθρομα Διονυσιακά ἐξαρτήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων . . . μεθίσκεσθαι.



caducée d'or avec des vêtements précieux.<sup>1</sup> Avec moins de magnificence, un simulacre de caverne peut avoir été promené dans les cortèges de la campagne romaine sous la garde des *άντροφύλακες*.

## ΒΑΚΧΑΙ

(Plus de quarante-quatre noms féminins)

Le nombre considérable de ces bacchantes confirme ce que nous avons déjà indiqué à propos des *ίερείαι* et des *άρχιβασσάραι* (p. 249), c'est-à-dire la place importante réservée aux femmes dans les mystères de Dionysos.<sup>2</sup> La vieille religion thraco-phrygienne, dont le caractère primitif s'était conservé en maint endroit de la Grèce, réservait aux Ménades, saisies d'une frénésie divine, le principal rôle dans les fêtes bruyantes des bacchanales, et à toutes les époques l'art s'est plu à figurer leur délire sacré dans la représentation du komos bachique.<sup>3</sup> Nous avons vu plus haut (p. 232) que le souvenir s'était conservé à Lesbos et dans les îles voisines de la forme la plus sauvage d'un culte sanguinaire, et les *βάκχαι* y ont certainement eu leur large part. A vrai dire, on n'a sur leur existence à Mytilène qu'un témoignage douteux,<sup>4</sup> mais elles se rencontrent dans les villes voisines de la côte d'Asie, à Ephèse,<sup>5</sup> à Milet. Ici, une curieuse épitaphe métrique<sup>6</sup> célèbre une prêtresse qui "a conduit les bacchantes vers la montagne et vers toutes les orgies, qui marchait en tête de toute la cité, portant les objets sacrés." Les femmes de Milet, saisies d'une fureur divine, quittaient leurs demeures pour parcourir les hauteurs incultes, comme celles de Béotie le faisaient encore à l'époque romaine.<sup>7</sup> A Magnésie du Méandre, une inscription du temps de l'Empire relate que la religion dionysiaque y a été introduite par trois Ménades venues de Thèbes, qui y ont fondé autant de thiasés.<sup>8</sup> Nous rappellerons encore qu'à Alexandrie les Bacchantes figuraient sous divers noms ethniques dans la procession de Ptolémée Philadelphie.<sup>9</sup> D'une façon générale, dans beaucoup de villes grecques, affirme Diodore de Sicile,<sup>10</sup> tous les deux ans on commémore le retour de Dionysos "des cercles bachiques de femmes se réunissent alors et il est d'usage que des jeunes filles portent le thyrsé et participent à l'enthousiasme

<sup>1</sup> Athénée, p. 199c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. sur ce point, Farnell, *Cults*, V, pp. 159 ff., 297 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. la liste dressée récemment par Philippart, *Revue belge de Philologie*, IX, 1930, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Longus dans son roman (IV, 3) décrit un temple de Dionysos à Mytilène où étaient peints *πανταχοῦ Σάτυροι πατοῦντες, πανταχοῦ βάκχαι χορεύουσαι*. Cf. Quandt, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarque, *Vit. Anton.* 24: *Εἰς Ἐφεσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ (Ἀντωνίου) γυναῖκες εἰς Βάκχας . . . ἡγοῦντο διεσκενασμέναι.*

<sup>6</sup> Wiegand, *Arch. Anz.* 1906, p. 9 et Peck, *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 1931, p. 131, n° 17. Cf. le commentaire de Haussoullier, *Rev. des ét. grecques* XXXII, 1919, pp. 257 ff.: *Τὴν δσίην χαίρειμ πολιήτιδες εἴπατε Βάκχαι| ἱρεῖν. χρηστῇ τοῦτο γυναικὶ θέμις. | Τμᾶς κείς ὁροι ἦγε καὶ ὄργια πάντα, καὶ ἱρά| ἤνεκεμ πάσης ἐρχομένη πρὸ πόλεως. | Τοῖνομα δ'εἰ τις ξείνος ἀνέλρεται: | Ἀλκμειῶνις | Ἡροῖου, καλῶν μοῖραν ἐπισταμένη.* Le dernier vers fait allusion au sort bienheureux réservé aux initiés. Cf. les *βάκχοι* de Cnide, *supra*, p. 258, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> À Orchomène, le prêtre, qui selon un rite archaïque poursuivait les Ménades, en tua une du temps de Plutarque, (*Quaest. Gr.*, 38). Cf. Farnell, *Cults*, V, pp. 151 ff., 300, nn., 75 et 77.

<sup>8</sup> Kern et Wendland, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie*, 1895, pp. 80 ff. *Inchriften von Magnesia*, 215 (milieu de I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J. C.); cf. Quandt, p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 249.

<sup>10</sup> Diodore, IV, 3: *Παρά πολλὰς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν βακχεῖά τε γυναικῶν ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς παρθένους νόμιμον εἶναι θυρσοφορεῖν καὶ συνενθουσιάζειν εὐαζούσαις καὶ τιμώσαις τὸν θεόν. τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας κατὰ συστήματα θυσιάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν καὶ καθόλου τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμεῖν τοῦ Διονύσου, μιμουμένας τὰς ἱστορούμενας τὸ παλαιὸν παρεδρέειν τῷ θεῷ μαινάδας.*

des bacchantes qui acclament et honorent le dieu; des femmes formées en groupes lui sacrifient, s'abandonnent à ses transports et chantent la présence de Dionysos à l'imitation des Ménades, qui, à ce qu'on rapporte, étaient autrefois à ses côtés."

Il n'est donc pas douteux que la famille d'Agrippinilla ait transporté de sa patrie à Rome, l'institution de cette troupe de *βάκχαι*. Mais on peut se demander jusqu'à quel point s'étaient conservés les débordements et les violences des antiques Ménades. Partout les États hellénistiques s'étaient attachés à modérer les manifestations excessives de l'exaltation féminine, et avaient soumis les orgies à la surveillance étroite des autorités.<sup>1</sup> Il subsistait probablement peu de chose des trans-



FIG. 3.—SARCOPHAGE TROUVÉ PRÈS DE LA PORTA SALARIA

ports extatiques des anciennes bacchanales dans le collège de Torre Nova, dirigé par de respectables matrones et par de graves sénateurs, à qui incombait à Rome la police des cultes. Aucun dérèglement religieux ne devait y être toléré, et les bacchantes ne se livraient certainement plus à des courses furibondes sur les pentes des Monts Albains. Leur rôle devait se borner à jouer, comme le montrent les monuments, des cymbales et du tambourin pendant les cérémonies sacrées,<sup>2</sup> à chanter des hymnes<sup>3</sup> et à exécuter des danses rituelles.<sup>4</sup> Il faut se souvenir toutefois que

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, V, pp. 154 ff. Pour Pergame, cf. Dittenberger, *Or. inscr.* 331 et Quandt, pp. 120 ff.—Règlement de Ptolémée IV Philopator en Egypte; cf. mes *Relig. orient.*<sup>4</sup>, p. 196. Le règlement des Iobacches à Athènes marque le souci d'éviter tout désordre que l'ivresse pourrait faire naître; cf. *supra*, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pl. XXXI, ff. et *supra*, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Diodore, l.c.; Quandt, pp. 254 ff., à propos des *ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι*. Cf. aussi Sozomène, *Hist. eccl.* VI, 25, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Chez les Lesbiens, on adorait *Ἐνὸρχη δὲ Διόνυσος, διότι μετ' ὀρχήσεως αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελεῖται τὰ μυστήρια* (Schol. Lycophron 212, Quandt, p. 137, cf. *supra*, p. 253, n. 2). Danses de *βάκχαι* à Mytilène, cf. *supra*, p. 260, n. 1. En Lydie: Denys le Périégète, 839 f.; cf. Athénée, p. 636a; Himérius, *Or.* III, 5.—Comparer Lucien, *De Saltat.* 79, à propos des danses de *βουκόλοι* en Ionie et dans le Pont (*supra*, p. 248). Sur la danseuse nue, battant des cymbales, représentée, dans la "Villa des Mystères" de Pompéi, cf. Maiuri, *op. cit.*, p. 156, pl. XII et R. Elle se retrouve presque exactement dans une fresque de la maison de Lucrétius Fronton (L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, 1921, p. 297, fig. 171) et sur un sar-

dans certaines villes d'Occident, comme dans celles d'Orient, le caractère orgiaque des antiques bacchanales se maintint jusqu'à la fin du paganisme.<sup>1</sup>

# ΞΕΙΓΗΤΑΙ

(Vingt-trois noms masculins et féminins)

Le mot *σειγητής* manque dans nos dictionnaires, mais la lecture en paraît certaine. *Ξειγηται* "ceux qui fournissent les vivres," à quoi l'on a pu songer<sup>2</sup> et qui serait d'ailleurs aussi nouveau, me semble pas possible (cf. I, col. 3, l. 32: (ΞΕΙΓΗΤΟC)).

Dans quelle acception *σειγητής* est-il pris? Faut-il comprendre ceux qui imposent ou ceux qui observent le silence? Grammaticalement les deux sens sont admissibles, bien que le second soit le plus probable.

Il est suffisamment connu que pendant la célébration des cérémonies du culte païen, les assistants devaient *εὐφημεῖν*, se garder de toute parole de mauvais augure et par extension s'abstenir d'en proférer aucune. *Le Favete linguis* d'Horace est dans toutes les mémoires. A plus forte raison, les initiés devaient-ils se taire pendant que s'accomplissaient les rites sacrés des mystères. Cette obligation qu'ils avaient de rester muets est attestée non seulement pour Eleusis<sup>3</sup> mais pour d'autres cultes secrets.<sup>4</sup> On pourrait donc supposer que nos *σειγηται* sont des *silentarii*, comme on appelait dans les maisons romaines les esclaves chargés de clore la bouche à leurs compagnons, c'est-à-dire qu'ils auraient eu pour mission de faire régner un silence religieux dans les assemblées des bacchants.

Mais dans les cas où nous voyons ailleurs imposer l'*εὐφημία*, ce soin appartient à un héraut sacré (*ιεροκήρυξ*), qui est unique,<sup>5</sup> et l'on ne voit pas comment dans le collège de Torre Nova vingt-trois personnes, hommes et femmes, auraient été re-

cophage découvert à Rome (fig. 3) près de la Porta Salaria (Photogr. Moscioni 11345, Inédit?; cf. *Mél. école franç. de Rome*, V, 1885, pp. 313 ff.). Les représentations de cette "danse sans voiles" sont d'ailleurs nombreuses; cf. Philippart, *Revue belge de philologie et d'hist.*, 1930, p. 49 f. D'une façon générale les danses extatiques des bacchantes ont été un sujet de prédilection des artistes, peintres ou sculpteurs. Cf. Kurt Latte, "De Saltationibus Graecorum," dans *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* XIII, 3, 1913 et Lawler, "The Maenads' Dance" dans *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, V, 1927, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. nos *Relig. Orient.*, p. 309, n. 47, p. 312, n. 74. Survivance des mascarades de Dionysos en Thrace jusqu'à nos jours, cf. Dawkins, *J.H.S.* XXVI, 1906, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vogliano, *supra*, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Sopater dans *Rhetores Graeci*, VIII, p. 118: Πρὸ πάντων ἐπιτάττει (ὁ ἱεροκήρυξ) δημοσίᾳ τὴν σωπὴν, καὶ καθάπερ τι μέρος τῆς τελετῆς τὴν ἐχεμύθειαν τοῖς μύσταις παραινέει.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarque, *De prof. in virt.* 10, p. 81E: Οἱ τελοῦμενοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν θυρήνῃ καὶ βοῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὠθαύμενοι συνίστανται, δρομῶν δὲ καὶ δειανυμένων τῶν ἱερῶν προσέχουσιν ἥδη μετὰ φόβου καὶ σωπῆς. Cf. *Quaest. Graecae*, 44; Philostrate, *Vit. Apoll.* I, 15: Ὡς περ ἐν μυστηρίοις ἰσιώπων; Josèphe, *Bell. Iud.* II, 133 (des Esséniens), Libanius, *Or.* X, 6 (I, p. 403 Förster). Cf. le règlement d'Andanie (Michel, 694; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 736) §9, l. 39. Ἀκοσμομένων ὅταν δὲ αἱ θυγαῖ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια συντελεῖται, εὐφαιμῶν πάντες καὶ ἀκούον τῶν παραγγελλομένων. τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα ἢ ἀπρεπῶς ἀναστρεφόμενον εἰς τὸ θεῖον μαστιγούντω οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ ἀποκυλύντω τῶν μυστηρίων. Inscr. des Iobacches (Michel 1564; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1109) l. 109: Μηδεὶς δ' ἔπος φωνεῖτω μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Cf. en général, Casel, "De philosophorum Graecorum silentio mystico," *Rel. gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* XVI, 1919, pp. 3 ff., 26 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Pour Eleusis, cf. *supra*, note 3. À Magnésie du Méandre, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 695, l. 40, avant une prière publique: Εὐφημίαν ἱεροκήρυκα καταγγέλαντα. À Cos, *Ibid.* 1025, l. 30, avant un sacrifice: Κἄρυξ . . . καρύσσω εὐφημίαν. À Andanie (Michel, 694; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 736, 115): Ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις συνλειτουργούντω τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ὁ κἄρυξ καὶ αὐλητὰς καὶ μάντις.

quises pour faire respecter cette règle rituelle. De plus le *ιεροκῆρυξ* dans les mystères est un personnage considérable,<sup>1</sup> et si nos "silentaires" supposés avaient rempli la même fonction, ils auraient trouvé place dans notre liste parmi les dignitaires du thiasé. Au contraire, nous les voyons relégués tout à la fin des dédicants après les simples bacchants et bacchantes. L'humble rang qui leur est concédé indique que ce sont les membres les plus modestes de l'association, ceux qui n'ont pas encore reçu l'initiation complète et ne sont point *βάκχοι*.

Dès lors la signification de *σειγῆται* doit être différente. Ces novices ne sont pas des "silentaires," mais des "silencieux." Cette conclusion est corroborée par un texte étrange, et qui n'a point été bien compris. Suidas et Diogénianus le paroemiographe citent un proverbe grec: "*A la façon d'une bacchante*": *se dit des gens renfermés et taciturnes, car les bacchantes se taisaient.*<sup>2</sup>

On s'est demandé si ce proverbe faisait allusion à la prostration qui suivait l'exaltation des orgies ou à "l'altitude atteinte par l'envolée de l'esprit quand les voix et les sons sont étouffés et qu'enveloppée de silence, l'âme ravie se sent toute proche de "Dieu."<sup>3</sup> Sans doute, cette forme de contemplation et de prière muette n'a pas été ignorée des païens,<sup>4</sup> mais notre texte épigraphique, si nous le comprenons bien, donne une autre portée au proverbe, resté jusqu'ici énigmatique. Celui-ci rappelle une épreuve à laquelle bacchants et bacchantes étaient soumis avant d'obtenir l'initiation parfaite. Les auteurs rapportent que les Pythagoriciens, avant d'admettre un nouvel adepte dans leurs conventicules occultes, l'obligeaient à un silence de plusieurs années pour éprouver sa maîtrise de soi,<sup>5</sup> et ceci est rapproché par certains écrivains de la pratique des mystères.<sup>6</sup> Si une pareille règle a réellement existé dans les communautés pythagoriciennes primitives, elle a en effet, selon toute probabilité, une origine religieuse et, plus précisément, orphique ou bachique. Nos *σειγῆται* formaient donc sans doute une classe de novices des deux sexes qui avaient l'obligation de rester aphones pendant un temps déterminé. On s'assurait ainsi qu'ils étaient capables de garder les secrets qui devaient leur être révélés.

Durant cinq années Apollonius de Tyane, selon son biographe,<sup>7</sup> se serait imposé au début de sa carrière merveilleuse un mutisme complet et la même observance, nul ne l'ignore, s'est conservée jusqu'à nos jours chez les ascètes hindous, comme dans certains de nos ordres monastiques.

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<sup>1</sup> Foucart, *Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 202. Cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.*, 4148, 4153.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas, s.v. *Στεγανόν*; Diogénian. III, 43: *Βάκχης τρόπον ἐπὶ τῶν στεγανῶν καὶ σιωπηλῶν. αἱ γὰρ βάκχαι λοίγαν.*

<sup>3</sup> Farnell, *Cults*, V, 162: "Is it the very zenith reached by the flight of the spirit when voices and sounds are hushed, and in the rapt silence the soul feels closest to God?"

<sup>4</sup> Cf. nos *Religions orientales*, pp. 89; 242, n. 89; 245, n. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Zeller, *Philos. der Gr.* I<sup>er</sup>, p. 400, n. 2; Delatte, *La Vie de Pythagore*, 1922, pp. 111, n. 8; 169.

<sup>6</sup> Iamblique, *Vit. Pyth.* XVII, 72: *Τοῖς προσιοῦσι προσέταττε σιωπὴν πενταετή, ἀποπειρώμενοι πῶς ἐγκρατείας ἔχουσιν, ὥς χαλεπώτερον οὐ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκρατειμάτων τοῦτο, τὸ γλώσσης κρατεῖν, καθὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ μυστήρια νομοθετήσαντων ἐμφαίνεται ἡμῖν.* Cf. Hippolyte, *Adv. haeres*, I, 3: *Θαυμάσας δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ὁδῶν ἤξίωσε τὰ πρῶτα σιγᾶν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὁνοεῖ μύστας τοῦ παντός.*

<sup>7</sup> Philostrate, *V. Apoll.* I, 14 ff. Cf. I, 16: *Μόνοις ἐποίει δῆλα τοῖς ἐγὼν τεττάρων σιωπᾶν γεγνημασμένοις.*



## ABSTRACT OF THE ARTICLES ON THE BACCHIC INSCRIPTION IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM\*

### PART I. AN EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY ON THE INSCRIPTION, BY A. VOGLIANO

The inscription (Pls. XXVII-XXIX) is on three sides of a marble base,  $32\frac{3}{4}$  by 22 by  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size, upon which once stood a statue of Pompeia Agrippinilla, wife of Gavius Squilla Gallicanus, consul in 150 A.D. It consists of a dedication, "The mystai (whose names are) written below (erected the statue of) [Agr]ippinilla the priestess." Underneath, distributed in various categories, is a list of members of the thiasos, or sacred college devoted to the Bacchic mysteries, of which Agrippinilla was priestess. The unique importance of the inscription is that it thus sets forth the structure of a Bacchic thiasos, with the functions of the members from the highest to the lowest.

The base was found a number of years ago in the Roman Campagna. Two not widely divergent accounts say respectively that it came from the *al Vermicino* farm on the Via Tusculana at the beginning of the slope which leads to the hill of Frascati; and that it was found in a vineyard two kilometers from Torre Nova, between the Via Labicana (Casalina) and the Via Latina. At any rate, near the general locality where the stone was found stood the villa of Gallicanus, who had an important rôle in the thiasos.

Of the members of the society, more than 300 are Greeks from Asia Minor and from scattered localities in Greece. There are about 70 Romans, and a sprinkling of barbarians. About one third are women. The personage in whose honor the statue was erected—Pompeia Agrippinilla—together with the high officials of the brotherhood, can be identified on epigraphic evidence as belonging to an illustrious Roman family, tracing their origin from the Greek, Theophanes of Mytilene in Lesbos, friend and historian of Pompey the Great, who became a Roman citizen. This family, after suffering persecution under Tiberius, is now found established in the Roman Campagna in the middle of the second century A.D. The names of members of the family are recorded in various inscriptions, so that it is possible to identify them with some certainty. Cethegilla, the dadouchos, is the daughter of Agrippinilla; one of the two Gallicani listed as priests is her husband. Macrinus, the priest, is probably her brother; Macrinus, the heros, might be a nephew. Farther down are mentioned an Orphitus, two Tertulli, a Celsus, all names which occur frequently among persons of senatorial rank in this period.

The name of the hierophant, Agathopos, betrays servile origin. From this point, Greek names predominate, Latin ones becoming scarcer; Roman names of high rank are rare from this point. It is probable that all the membership can be brought within the circle of the family and its retainers.

\* The following abstract of the preceding articles on the Great Bacchic Inscription in the Metropolitan Museum of Art has been prepared by C. Alexander for the benefit of those readers who prefer English to French and Italian. It is a bare statement of the main conclusions reached by the two scholars.—

EDITOR.



## PART II. RELIGIOUS COMMENTARY ON THE INSCRIPTION, BY FRANZ CUMONT

The family of Pompeia Agrippinilla kept alive their connection with Lesbos; the cult of Bacchos on that island descended from a remote antiquity, and was in early times of a savage and bloodthirsty nature. Although the primitive practices of the cult must have been modified before the Imperial period, the fact remains that the mysteries brought to Rome by the family of Agrippinilla were no late creation, but went back to a very ancient form of Dionysiac religion, as witness such archaisms as the title "heros" (see below). The priestly organization of the Torre Nova college, moreover, evidently felt the influence of Eleusis in the mother country and retained it after the transfer to Rome.

The titles of the sacred college are probably listed in our inscription in the order of their precedence in the sacred procession, the prominence of which in Bacchic worship is shown by the number of titles composed in -phoros. After the more lofty dignitaries—the heros, dadouchos, priests, priestesses—came the divine statue carried by the theophoroi, followed by ministers of humbler rank, among whom were the kistaphoroi, the liknaphoroi, a phallophoros, and two pyrphoroi. The series of titles is much the most complete we possess for any mysteries except the Eleusinian. It does not, however, profess to be the complete and official roll of members, but simply a record of the subscribers to the erection of the statue. There are blanks for the addition of tardy subscribers, and one title, though plural, is followed by but a single name, with space allowed for two more.

There is no indication in our inscription that initiates changed their names for purely religious designations. But all the names (with two meaningless exceptions) are simple *cognomina*, the inference being that in at least some of the societies of Bacchic initiates the social distinctions of ordinary life disappeared and were replaced by a religious hierarchy in which all the bacchoi were spiritual brothers. The Dionysiac religion was hospitable to the humble, though it retained the favor of the great.

Our list, precious as it is, affords no clue as to how the functionaries of the cult were chosen, how long they served, and what their duties were. We do not even know what the great college was called, whether σπεῖρα, βακχεῖον or θιασος. In defining the character of the various officials it must be borne in mind that the notion thus formed of the Torre Nova society is applicable to it alone, for the religious societies of the Greeks were by no means uniform. Many of the holy titles met elsewhere are lacking in our dedication, many included which were not known heretofore.

In its wealth of names and offices the Torre Nova inscription is unique of its kind and its importance is great. It tells us so much that we regret all the more keenly its silence as to the nature of the mysteries themselves, and of their great spiritual power. In order to conjecture in this regard we must turn to archaeology, not epigraphy. The paintings of the Villa dei Misteri, the sarcophagi, and many lesser monuments must remain our great source of information. The value of the Torre Nova base, on the other hand, is that it gives us a precise notion of the structure of a great Dionysiac thiasos, with all the diversity of its priestly functions. It shows moreover

how this East Greek community was transplanted bodily into the Rome of the Caesars, keeping intact its language, its hierarchy, and certainly also its traditional liturgy. The picture it gives of this great homogeneous clan of island and Asiatic Greeks, with Syrians and Egyptians excluded, is a striking example of the forces which tended to make of Rome a partly Hellenistic community. But the great inscription of the Metropolitan Museum is above all important in that it shows the introduction bodily into the population of Latium of this great mass of Greco-Asiatic devotees of Dionysos, the saviour god.

There follows the interpretation of the various paragraphs of the document:

*Ἡρώς* (1 masculine name). It cannot be maintained that the title "heros" refers to a member of the society already dead and heroized, for this is a list of those who have paid money toward the erection of a statue. The title must therefore be taken in its archaic sense of "leader," which it probably had on Lesbos from remote antiquity. It is noteworthy that Bacchos was anciently the bull god of a religion of neat-herds (*boukoloi*); that in rustic speech the chief bull of the herd was a "heros"; in certain Dionysiac colleges the man at the head of the priests and the *mystai* took the same title as the god he served.

*Δαδούχος* (1 feminine name). The *dadouchos*, "torch bearer," occupies second rank in the hierarchy. The torch was used from remote times to light the nocturnal feasts of the wine god, and it took on the significance of purification. A satyr is holding a torch in the purification scene on the Arretine vase shown in Fig. 1. A woman, perhaps the *dadouchos*, is holding a double torch to the altar flame in Pl. XXX.

*Ἱερεῖς* (7 masculine names). The priest, whose duty was to offer sacrifice, perform the daily liturgy, direct feasts and processions, was a part of every organized cult. Apart from the public clergy, priests of private Bacchic colleges are often mentioned. The Torre Nova college had one peculiarity—the reduplication of the office into seven priests, to whom must be added three priestesses. This plurality may be in imitation of the Roman system of collegiality, rather than of the oriental temple organization; or one may think of Eleusis, where a number of priests was connected with the mysteries.

*Ἱερεῖαι* (2 feminine names). To these two priestesses must be added Agrippinilla. This plurality of priestesses, as of priests, is somewhat exceptional. The duties of a priestess were similar to those of a priest. She performed sacrifice, had revenue from offerings, presided at initiations, conducted processions, led the *thiasos* outside of the city for the celebration of orgies. (See below under *βάκχαι*.) In Pl. XXXI, 1; Fig. 2; Pl. XXXII, 1, priestesses are seen about to sacrifice at an altar, helping to slay a pig, pouring a libation at an altar.

*Ἱεροφάντης* (1 masculine name). The office of hierophant, as it is known elsewhere, carried with it great dignity and importance; here it is given only fifth place on the list, and the name of the incumbent, Agathopos, betrays eastern, and perhaps servile, origin. We do not know what part of the original function of the office was preserved at Torre Nova. Without doubt it was concerned chiefly with initiation. In connection with this diminution of importance, it is noteworthy that the title occurs rarely at Rome.

Θεοφόρος (2 masculine names). The ordinary sense of the word, theophoroi, "god-inspired," is superseded here, on the analogy of the other titles composed with -phoros by the meaning "god-bearer." The two theophoroi carried in the procession a statue of Dionysos on their shoulders. Instances of statues of divinities carried in processions, placed on a litter (or hand-barrow)—*ferculum*—could be multiplied.

Ῥπουργός καὶ σειληνόκοσμος (1 masculine name). Just behind the statue marched a mystes with these two titles. The first is, as far as is known to this writer, unique in Bacchic thiasoi of the Greek world. It probably came into Latin as *minister*, and refers to an acolyte who seconded the priest at sacrifices. The second title is also new, and not entirely clear. On the analogy of other titles elsewhere known, it may be conjectured to mean a beadle who oversaw the conduct of the mystai, and retained the ancient silen costume much as the beadles in modern churches keep the dress and halberd of tradition.

Κισταφόροι (3 feminine names). The mystic chest (*cista mystica*) appears for example on the coins of Asia Minor with the serpent of Dionysos Sabazios issuing from it. The chest was an important object in Bacchic worship, and it is not surprising to find it carried in the procession. The title occurs in other inscriptions besides ours, and in other cults besides that of Bacchos.

Ἀρχιβοῦκόλοι (3 masculine names), βουκόλοι ἱεροὶ (7 masculine names), and lower down βουκόλοι (11 masculine names). The "neatherds" and "chief neatherds" of the Bacchic cult are well known. Here a third degree, that of "holy neatherds," is added. In primitive times, Dionysos was revered under the form of a bull, and his cult retained traces of this archaic conception (cf. above under Ἡρως). The early rustic dancers in honor of the bull god survived in the boukoloi of the Bacchic mysteries, who wore the neatherd's costumes. Their dances were sometimes violent and ecstatic.

Ἀρχιβάσσαροι, Ἀρχιβασσάραι (2 masculine, and 4 feminine names). Bassara was a name, perhaps Lydian, for fox, and came to mean the Maenads who wore the fox skin. Bacchos himself was called Bassareus. Aischylos wrote a tragedy called Bassarai which told of Orpheus torn to pieces by the Maenads. Bassara came to be used to mean a female bacchant. The "archibassarai" were those in charge of the female bacchants. There is no category of bassarai, but no doubt the bacchai (see below) were under the charge of the archibassarai.

The title "archibassaros" does not occur elsewhere. It is probably formed on the analogy of archibassara, to designate those in charge of the bacchoi, although the word bassaros does not exist.

In a procession held in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus the bassarai had disheveled hair, and were crowned with serpents, or smilax, or vine leaves, or laurel; some held serpents, others daggers.

Ἀμφιθαλείς (2 masculine names). Children before the age of puberty were often credited with the gift of prophecy, or employed as mediums by magicians. A child whose parents were both living (called an amphithales), was regarded as pure and was often chosen to perform sacred functions. The presence of such young acolytes in the Bacchic mysteries has not heretofore been proven, and we do not know what

duties they had. The nude child reading a sacred text in one of the paintings from the Villa Igem may be an amphithales.

Λικναφόροι (3 feminine names). The liknon, winnowing fan, served as the cradle of the infant Dionysos, and became an emblem of fertility. Later, in the Bacchic mysteries, as well as at Eleusis, it became a symbol of purification, driving away pollution like chaff from the grain. It appears in Pl. XXXIII, 2, placed on the head of the mystes, which is covered with a veil. Fig. 2 shows a woman, a liknaphoros, carrying the liknon on her head.

Φαλλοφόρος (1 feminine name). The sacred phallos was carried in the mysteries on a winnowing fan covered with a cloth, and it was a solemn moment when this symbol was uncovered. In a certain rite, it seems that the contents of a liknon, i.e. fruits and phallos (probably made of paste) were poured over the initiate's head (Pl. XXXII, 2). The custom among rustic people of carrying a wooden or leather phallos through the fields to ensure a good harvest goes back to pre-Hellenic times and continues in the Balkans to the present day. The emblem was inseparable from Bacchic worship throughout the Greek world. It was sometimes of colossal size and was carried in a cart. Here it has a modest rôle and is borne by one woman. It may be that in view of public opinion at Rome the Torre Nova college sought to minimize this feature of its worship.

Πυρφόρος (1 masculine name). The function of the pyrphoros was to "bring the fire" necessary for the sacrifice or for any other ritual ceremony. The transfer of fire could be effected with a torch, but the pyrphoros must not, therefore, be confounded with the dadouchos, who had an entirely different function. The duties of the former are not known, but in the procession he doubtless carried a lighted lamp or a thymiaterion with live coals.

Ἱερομνήμων (1 masculine name). The hieromnemon was a sort of steward, who had charge of the material interests of the cult.

Ἀρχινεανίσκοι (1 masculine name, followed by space for two more. The title is plural). The archineaniskos evidently led and instructed the adolescent members. It was the custom to instruct children in the mysteries to ensure their safety in the next world in case they died prematurely. The neaniskoi must have formed a category of their own, and if ours were a complete list of members of the Torre Nova college they would be included; the two amphithaleis were surely not all. Possibly contributions were not solicited from the younger members, because they had no money of their own. The functions of this class of members are unknown, but certainly they took part in the procession.

Ἀπὸ καταζώσεως (89 masculine and feminine names), βάκχοι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως (15 masculine names), βάκχαι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως (3 feminine names). The word *κατάζωσις* is not in the dictionaries, but its sense is certain. It refers to the action of girding one's self up, or, by extension, of clothing one's self. The monuments show not only Maenads, but persons celebrating the mysteries of Dionysos, clad in the nebris (fawn skin). The rite of *κατάζωσις* seems to go back to the usage of covering one's self with the skin of a newly sacrificed animal. The primitive meaning of the rite had to do with the transfusion of the strength of the victim to the worshiper, and by a natural transition the ceremony took on the sense of purification and renewal.



It is noteworthy that although in all the above categories the sexes are segregated, in the series *apo katazoseos* the sexes are mixed; that there are bacchoi and bacchai both with the title *apo katazoseos*. It may be that the mystai of these categories took part in the ceremonies disguised as members of the opposite sex. Such masquerades were usual in Oriental cults, and reappear in the worship of Kybele and of Isis.

This and other explanations for the title suggest themselves, but the probability remains that it refers to the assumption of the nebris at initiation.

Βάκχοι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως (15 masculine names), ἱεροὶ βάκχοι (more than 100 names). It can be supposed on the analogy of the "holy neatherds," followed by simply "neatherds," that a category of bacchoi appeared on the stone after holy bacchoi and is now broken away. The presence of the title, bacchai, supports this assumption.

We have no means of distinguishing the various grades of bacchoi, except to conjecture that the bacchoi *apo katazoseos* i.e. those entitled to the nebris, had a more active part in the ceremonies than the rest. The great number of bacchoi shows that this was the rank attained by the mystai as soon as they had achieved initiation. The bacchos was a mystes who by the power of initiation was identified with the wine god himself. In the old Dionysiac religion these initiates gave themselves over to transports of a violent nature. The question arises as to how far the ancient savage orgies were tolerated at Torre Nova.

Ἀντροφύλακες (2 masculine names). This word, heretofore unknown, signifies those who guarded the sacred cave. Dionysos was said to have been born in a cave, and his devotees sometimes dedicated caverns to him. Only excavation can show whether there was a natural cave set aside for the god at Torre Nova. It is possible that an artificial one was constructed for use in the mysteries, and carried in the procession (compare our Christmas crèche).

Βάκχαι (over 40 feminine names). The number of bacchai confirms what has already been said about the importance of women in the mysteries of Dionysos. In the ancient Thrako-Phrygian form of the religion the chief rôle was reserved for the Maenads, and the memory of their primitive excesses was preserved at Lesbos. Until the end of paganism in certain localities female bacchants trooped from their dwellings to roam the hills in divine frenzy. Undoubtedly the family of Agrippinilla brought from Lesbos the tradition of this troop of bacchai, but probably little of the primitive ecstasy survived at the Torre Nova college, directed as it was by staid senators and matrons. It is not to be supposed that the bacchai here listed ever abandoned themselves to frenzied coursing over the slopes of the Alban hills; more probably they confined themselves to playing the tambourine, singing hymns, and ritual dancing. It must, however, be borne in mind that in certain localities in the West, as well as in the Orient, the bacchanals retained their orgiastic character until the end of paganism.

Σειγηταί (23 masculine and feminine names). This word, hitherto unknown, can mean grammatically either "those who impose silence" or "those who are silent." The humble place accorded the seigetai, at the bottom of the list, points to the second as the more probable meaning. No doubt they formed a class of novitiates of



both sexes who were obliged to remain mute for a given length of time, to show themselves capable of keeping the secrets which were to be confided to them. Terms of silence were sometimes imposed for religious reasons in antiquity, and the custom survives today among the Hindus and in some of our own monastic orders.

CHRISTINE ALEXANDER

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART  
New York

## EXCAVATIONS AT ELEUSIS, 1932

### PRELIMINARY REPORT

#### PLATE XXXIV

HALF a century has already passed since the Greek Archaeological Society began the work of uncovering the remains preserved within the Eleusinian sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> The director of that excavation and first scientific explorer of Eleusis, the late D. Philios, in the course of two seasons (1883-1884) cleared the area occupied by the Telesterion, uncovered its remains and made clear the varying fortunes of this sacred building.<sup>2</sup> After the monumental work of the late Ferdinand Noack,<sup>3</sup> in which the results of Philios' excavations were also given in detail, the Telesterion was considered explored, at least as far as the spade was concerned, although the ruins uncovered presented many problems. The sanctuary built of polygonal masonry and dated by Noack in the seventh century was considered by him and many others as the earliest Telesterion built in honor of Demeter.

In the reports of Philios, however, mention was made of walls, graves, and early pottery discovered below the floor level of the historic sanctuaries. Some of these walls were placed in Dr. Dörpfeld's early plans of Eleusis and were later incorporated in the plans of Noack.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore in the campaigns of 1930 and 1931, in front of the Stoa of Philo some prehistoric graves were discovered, and foundations which seemed to belong to prehistoric houses.<sup>5</sup> It was natural to ask precisely what were the remains found by Philios and what was the relation of the prehistoric finds to the historic buildings.

To determine this, to prevent any speculation which might be based on the nature of the reported prehistoric ruins, and to bring to light all possible existing remains below the floors of the historic Telesteria, we decided to remove the earth covering over almost three fourths of the sanctuary until the rock was exposed everywhere. This was especially important since the theory of the existence of a cult at Eleusis in Mycenaean times based chiefly upon the date of the sanctuary built in polygonal masonry of the archaic period, could no longer be held after Noack's careful study and successful dating of that construction.<sup>6</sup> The work of removing the earth was completed in 1932,<sup>7</sup> the natural rock is now exposed in practically the entire area of

<sup>1</sup> The event was commemorated by the publication of the first volume of *Eleusiniaka*, dedicated to the memory of the first scientific explorers of Eleusis, Demetrios Philios (1882-1892) and Andreas Skias (1894-1907).

<sup>2</sup> *Praktika*, 1883, pp. 50 ff.; 1884, pp. 64 ff., Pl. Δ.

<sup>3</sup> *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927.

<sup>4</sup> *Praktika*, 1884 Pl. Δ, O, and walls shaded in blue. Noack, *op. cit.*, pl. 13.

<sup>5</sup> G. E. Mylonas, *A.J.A.* XXXVI, 1932, pp. 110 ff., and "Prehistoric Eleusis," in *Eleusiniaka* I, pp. 15, 49 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Persson, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXI, 1922, pp. 292 ff.; Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, pp. 402 ff.; See also Ch. Picard, in *Revue historique*, CLXVI, 1931, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> This important work became possible by the generous financial assistance given to Dr. Kourouniotes by an unnamed American donor through the American School of Classical Studies. To him as

the Telesterion, and the foundations and remains of the different periods like a gigantic skeleton lie bare for scientific investigation.

The filling removed had a maximum thickness of 7.50 m. immediately in front of the foundations of the inner east side of the Periclean cella, and a minimum thickness of 0.40 m. a meter to the east of the third row of columns of the Roman Telesterion which stand upon the levelled rock of the hill.<sup>1</sup> It was chiefly made up of earth brought from other parts of the hill and used for the construction of the artificial terrace on which the various Telesteria were built. A good portion of it, however, was composed of the debris accumulated from the destruction of older buildings. The filling was mostly disturbed first by Philios and his workers when they were testing the area of the Telesterion, and second by builders of the historic sanctuaries, who lowered the foundations of their walls and columns practically to the rock. Fortunately the ancient builders showed a great respect for the older constructions which they found in their way, and destroyed or disturbed as little of the older relics as possible. Between the Roman columns V5 and VI5 an interesting example of a Middle Helladic burial was discovered.<sup>2</sup> The skull and the bones of the chest of one of the skeletons were not found because, in all probability, they were removed to make room for the first course of the foundations of column V5. The bones of the legs were found in their original flexed position, and the filling around and over them as well as over the rest of the grave was undisturbed. It is evident that there was destroyed only what was absolutely necessary for the laying of the foundations. This is one of the many instances, probably the most striking, in which we noticed a scrupulous effort to preserve the older remains, whether they were graves or walls.

The respect shown to the older constructions by the classical and Roman builders, and the fact that Philios did not excavate completely the entire area, will account for the preservation and the documentation of the remains uncovered during our campaign. Foundations of walls survived; and on either side of them borders of undisturbed earth were uncovered, small but important, inasmuch as they yielded enough evidence for dating the relics. Our chronological conclusions were verified further by the results obtained by excavating the undisturbed earth that lay beneath the foundations of the Peisistratean column I5 (a5 in the plan, Pl. XXXIV). The temporary removal of this base was decided upon, and it proved most essential for the accurate dating of all the remains uncovered below the Peisistratean level.<sup>3</sup> However, no movable finds of great size could be found in the small undisturbed

well as to Professor Edward Capps of Princeton University and to the officials of the School we wish to express our gratitude for their most timely assistance. We are also grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies for their grant to our field director, Dr. George E. Mylonas of the University of Illinois, which enabled him to be in Greece during the most important period of the work. Our colleagues, Mr. John Travlos and Mr. John Threpsiades, rendered invaluable service and are now actively engaged in the further study of the remains. Thanks are also due to our foreman, Mr. Stratis Kehagias, to our vase-mender, Mr. Basil Yannikos, and to our photographer, Mr. D. Tsimas.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Noack, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> In our present study we follow Noack's system of numbering the columns of the different Telesteria. Cf. Pl. XXXIV.

<sup>3</sup> It was removed only when drawings, photographs and notes of its exact position were taken. This base and base b4 in our plan will be replaced after the refilling of the area.

filling, which forms but a particle of the total earth removed. Our movable finds, with the exception of those discovered in the archaic pyre, consist mainly of sherds, which give us nothing more than the dates of the constructions around and within which they were found.

The removal of the filling now makes possible the final study of the foundations of the different cellae as well as those of the columns of the various periods. The foundations of the Peisistratean and also those of the Periclean cella are built down to the rock everywhere. They are constructed of large blocks of Eleusinian stone placed in isodomic courses. The upper and the lower faces of these stones are carefully levelled so as to afford a good, even bed to the layers above and below them. Their outer faces are simply blocked out and have an irregular appearance. The foundations of all the columns, with the exception of the Peisistratean, are built down to the rock. The Peisistratean columns rest for the most part on bases composed of four blocks of poros stone laid in two alternating courses on a layer of hard-pressed earth (Fig. 1). The poros blocks are evidently reused since they have anathyroses on their shorter exposed sides. Their number and their size would indicate that they were taken from a large construction, and as such a building does not seem to have existed in Eleusis at that period, it is probable that they were brought from elsewhere, possibly from Athens.



FIG. 1.—FOUNDATION OF PEISISTRATEAN COLUMN I 5

The Cimonian columns have a carefully constructed foundation of large slabs of Eleusinian black stone, quarried for the purpose, and placed in horizontal irregular courses (Fig. 2). In all cases the foundations go down to the natural rock which was smoothed to afford an even bed for the first course. The sides of the slabs are irregular and unworked, and in many of them traces of the wooden wedges used for their quarrying are visible. The architects of the Periclean building used poros stone, well worked and carefully laid in horizontal layers in the foundations of the columns. The natural rock was not only smoothed, but it was carefully cut until a regular bed was formed in which the lowest blocks were laid. The Roman columns are based on foundations made of materials available from older buildings; column drums, poros blocks with anathyroses, and large Eleusinian slabs are laid in irregular horizontal courses and in a very slovenly fashion (Fig. 3).

Remains of important constructions belonging both to the historic and to the prehistoric eras were revealed between these foundations of the historic Telesteria. They can more easily be studied in two sections. Remains found within the area enclosed by the Peisistratean Telesterion will form Section I, and those uncovered in the area of the remaining part of the last sanctuary will form Section II<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The area was excavated in the same order. First the filling from Section I was removed in shallow hypothetical layers averaging 0.30 m. in thickness, and then Section II was explored in the same fashion.

In Section I we uncovered in its entire preserved length the construction known from Philios' and Noack's work as the Round Building (Fig. 4, K).<sup>1</sup> Its date can now be definitely assigned to the close of the Geometric Period. The round or elliptical building K is partly based upon the wall E E', running nearly east and west and preserved to a length of 19 meters<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 4). It averages 0.85 m. in thickness and it forms the south section of a peribolos, the north side of which was discovered at a distance of 16 meters (Pl. XXXIV, Z). Thus the area enclosed, towards the end of the use of the peribolos, had a breadth of 16 meters. Its full length cannot be



FIG. 2.—FOUNDATION OF CIMONIAN COLUMN, VI 6

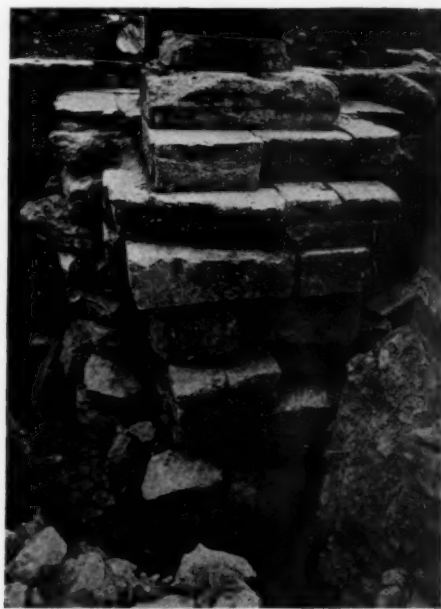


FIG. 3.—FOUNDATION OF ROMAN COLUMN, VI 6

determined since both the east and the west sides of the peribolos are not preserved. The east side is probably covered by the foundations of the Peisistratean prostoon, while the west was destroyed when a great part of the hill was cut away to form the west end of the classical Telesteria. The enclosed area had a gateway on its north side, as can be proved by the paved road that has survived at that point (Fig. 6). We cannot exclude the possibility of the former existence of other gateways probably of a more monumental character in the eastern side which is not preserved.

Within this enclosed area and at a short distance from the south wall of the peribolos the remains of a large construction of the "megaron type" were discovered, lying immediately below the east side of the Archaic Telesterion. They are oriented

<sup>1</sup> Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Here references are given to known round or elliptical buildings. The plan was drawn by our colleague, Mr. J. Travlos, and was copied for the present publication by Mr. Paul Evans of the University of Illinois.

<sup>2</sup> Part of this wall was noticed by Philios, cf. *Praktika*, pl. Δ, sect. O, and Noack, *op. cit.*, pls. 14, 16.



approximately from east to west with the entrance in the east (Pl. XXXIV, structure B). The north and south long walls of this construction (Pl. XXXIV,  $\Delta$ ,  $\Delta'$ ), which for convenience we call Megaron B,<sup>1</sup> end in well constructed antae to the east (Fig. 4 $\Delta$ ). They average 0.60 m. in thickness and are preserved almost to their entire length. Their average height is 0.50 m. No trace of the rear wall was found, but on good evidence, such as the floor level and the formation of the rock, its position can be fixed with some probability. Consequently the entire length of the building can be estimated to be about 9.50 m.; its width is about 5.90 meters. A cross wall



FIG. 4.—REMAINS BELOW THE ARCHAIC TELESTERION (AT). II. PEISISTRATEAN CELLA FOUNDATION. E. PERIBOLOS.  $\Delta$ . ANTA OF MEGARON B. K. ROUND BUILDING. S. SEWER

divides the building into an inner chamber and an open porch or prodomos. Portions of the floor of both the inner chamber and of the prodomos were found. They are made of well beaten earth and lime mixed with pebbles. Owing to the slope of the hill, the floor of the chamber is about 0.30 m. above that of the prodomos and it was reached from the latter by at least one step. The cross wall acted also as retaining wall for the artificial filling of the floor of the inner chamber. The level of the prodomos is about 1.25 m. above that of the court before it. The chamber was entirely excavated before and no evidence of its inner arrangements, of the columns which most probably supported its roof, or of its hearth could be found in our work. Over the prodomos are laid the foundations of the Roman column V5

<sup>1</sup> The elongated form, the open porch in front, and the termination of the side walls in regular antae justify the name, "Megaron."

and of the Cimonian V6 and naturally a great portion of this division of the building was destroyed. Enough was preserved, however, to prove its interesting and probably unique plan. The central part of the prodomos projects almost 2 meters beyond the ends of the antae, thus forming a large platform,  $\Gamma$ , symmetrically placed so as to leave two passages on either side averaging 1.40 m. in width. In the north passage a stairway existed forming the ascent from the lower leveled court to the prodomos. A few steps of this stairway as well as the threshold of the

prodomos were found in situ (Fig. 4).

A second stairway probably filled the space left between the platform and the north anta; no trace of this stairway, however, was discovered in situ, but some of its flat steps seem to have been used in the building of a later wall. On either side of the remains of the megaron and around those of the peribolos were found a good many sherds (Fig. 5), proving that these constructions were built toward the end of Late Helladic II and the beginning of the Late Helladic III period and that they continued to be in use until the end of the Mycenaean age. That they were contemporary is proved by the discovery of a sewer concealed carefully under the steps of the Megaron B (Fig. 4, S), for whose waters an opening was constructed on the peribolos wall at the time of its building. With the platform stretching in front of the



FIG. 5.—SHERDS FROM MEGARON B AND PERIBOLOS E

prodomos, Megaron B presented a unique and a very interesting ground plan (Fig. 6).

Within the enclosure and to the northeast of Megaron B were uncovered considerable foundations belonging to a more complex structure, to Building H (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7). This building is oriented approximately from south to north. Its west side rests partly upon the front of Megaron B; the south side, probably its front, is based upon the north leg of platform  $\Gamma$ , and its north, or rear side, rests upon an earlier wall, probably upon an earlier section of the peribolos wall. Building H in the last phase of its existence was composed of a main room, room H, completely preserved and measuring 7 meters in length and 4.40 m. in breadth, and of two side chambers, rooms H2 and H3, placed on either side of room H (Pl. XXXIV). The exact dimensions of the lateral rooms are not known since they are only partly preserved. The main room H had an entrance at the center of its south side, measuring about 1.60 m. in breadth and opening to platform  $\Gamma$ , and a second entrance placed

at the west corner of its north side, measuring about 1.45 m. in breadth. This last entrance seems to have corresponded to the gateway of the peribolos which is found at a distance of 1.25 m. from the north wall of Building H. A very small portion of the floor of room H was found untouched; room H2 had been completely excavated before; a great part of room H3 was preserved under the floor of the Peisistratean prostoon and it was partly excavated by means of tunnels dug under the classical remains. In this way it was possible to find here and in room H3 a great many sherds belonging to the closing years of the Late Helladic III period. These sherds and the fact that the walls of Building H are built upon parts of Megaron B and its platform, prove that the structure H is later than the megaron. Probably Building H, which does not possess an individual architectonic form, is a later addition to Megaron B, but at present their relations cannot be definitely established. At the southwest corner of room H1 and about 0.05 m. above its floor were discovered two characteristic handles of Geometric ware, one in the form of a bird (a dove?) and the other in the form of a griffin. These small finds possibly indicate that Building H was in use even at the beginning of the Geometric period.

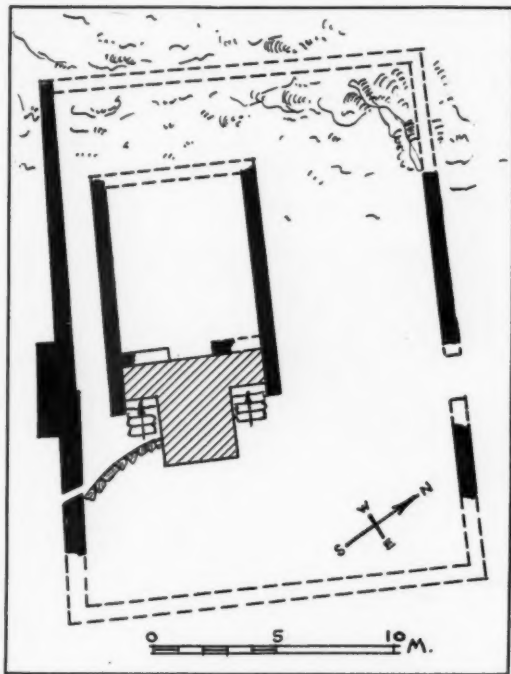


FIG. 6.—ELEUSIS. PLAN OF MEGARON B AND ITS PERIBOLOS



FIG. 7.—NORTHEAST CORNER OF STRUCTURE H

beginning of the Geometric period.

The filling discovered below the Late Helladic III level, as fixed by the foundations described above, has an average thickness of 0.50 m. and was characterized by gray and yellow Minyan, plain and grooved, by matt-painted and polychrome ware. Foundations of walls belonging to Middle Helladic buildings are numerous but fragmentary<sup>1</sup> and do not give us the ground

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pl. XXXIV, AA' where the Minyan foundation walls are left plain.

plan of even a single house. Burials between walls and evidently below the floors of houses are very common.<sup>1</sup> Most interesting is the burial discovered between the foundations of the Roman columns V5 and VI5 and immediately in front of the entrance of Megaron B (Grave No. 8). Four skeletons were found placed near each other as seen in Fig. 8. Three of them are laid almost north and south with the head turned west, while the fourth is laid almost due south and north. The bones of the lower part of the body below the waist of the last skeleton were found in situ. The bodies were laid in the position of one sleeping on his side with feet bent and on the rock, the small crags of which were filled and leveled with flat stones and pebbles. No foundations of a built grave or slabs covering it were found and evi-



FIG. 8.—MIDDLE HELLADIC BURIAL IN SECTION I

dently the bodies were simply buried in a trench dug in the earth and filled in after the burial. The filling over and around the bodies was found undisturbed and was characterized by gray-black grooved Minyan sherds, by matt-painted and polychrome ware. The burial therefore belongs to the Middle Helladic II period, possibly to its closing years, as is indicated by the polychrome pottery.

In front of the Stoa of Philo a built grave was discovered in the campaign of 1931 quite rich in *κτερίσματα*, proving that offerings were buried with the dead towards the close of the Middle Helladic period.<sup>2</sup> Grave No. 8 of the present campaign seems to indicate that burial of many persons in the same grave was not impossible in the same period. Thus the Middle Helladic graves of Eleusis furnish important links in the chain of the evolution of the Late Helladic I shaft graves from the Middle Helladic cist tombs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this characteristic Middle Helladic burial custom cf. C. W. Blegen and A. J. B. Wace, "Middle Helladic Tombs," in *Symbolae Osloenses*, Fasc. IX, 1930, pp. 28 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. Mylonas, *A.J.A.* XXXVI, 1932, pp. 110 ff. *Prehistoric Eleusis*, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. Karo, *Ath. Mitt.* XL, 1915, p. 195 and Blegen-Wace, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.



In Section II, the prehistoric finds were not as plentiful as in the preceding Section. The Middle Helladic period is represented by Minyan and matt-painted sherds, by graves and foundations of houses. The Late Helladic remains include a long wall evidently surrounding a rectangular court within which very scanty traces of a building were unearthed.<sup>1</sup> Both the building and the court wall belong to the middle and the closing years of the Late Helladic III period.

The historic remains of Section II are more important. A short distance to the southeast of the Peisistratean Telesterion, retaining wall N of Philios' excavations was uncovered again to its complete length. It was possible to ascertain that it rests upon a Late Helladic III filling, that it is contemporary with the round or elliptical building K uncovered in Section I, and that it was probably built at the close of the Geometric period. Numerous sub-geometric sherds discovered around its lower courses indicate its date. The wall has an average thickness of 1.25 m. and presents a worked face on both sides, although its inner face is not so carefully finished as its outer (Fig. 9). The laying of roughly polygonal stones in irregular horizontal courses heralds the polygonal method of wall construction. It is the identical method employed in



FIG. 9.—RETAINING WALL N AND STAIRWAY N'

the erection of the round or elliptical building K. To the southwest, the wall ends in a well built anta, and diagonally opposite this are found three shallow steps already known from Philios' work (Fig. 9 and Pl. XXXIV, N'). Their proper function, however, had remained unexplained, although they were included in Noack's plans. The well built anta at the end of the retaining wall leaves no doubt that at this point we have an entrance and that the three steps formed part of a stairway, possibly made up of seven steps, which gave access to the terrace of the sanctuary. The steps are made of small Eleusinian flat stones well polished from use. The lowest first step has a breadth of 4.80 m. and averages only 0.13 m. in height.

Between the Periclean column D2 and the retaining wall N, Philios discovered a sacrificial pyre rich in votive offerings. Clay figurines were most common among them.<sup>2</sup> Around the area of that pyre we found a great number of similar figurines. They are of the standing amorphous type, are somewhat similar to the well known Boeotian figurines, and have their hands extended to the side with a slight upward tilt. They remind one strongly of the figurines usual in the Late Helladic III period.<sup>3</sup> Some seem to wear a crown or a garland, and practically all are covered

<sup>1</sup> Part of it was unearthed by Philios. Cf. *Praktika*, 1884, Pl. Δ, section, π, π'.

<sup>2</sup> A few were described and discussed by Noack, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff. and figs. 3-5, but there are many hundreds unclassified and not properly studied in the storerooms at Eleusis. The work of the study and classification of the figurines found by Philios is also in progress.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tsountas in *Eph. Arch.* 1888, pp. 168 ff. and Martin Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 ff. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, p. 24.



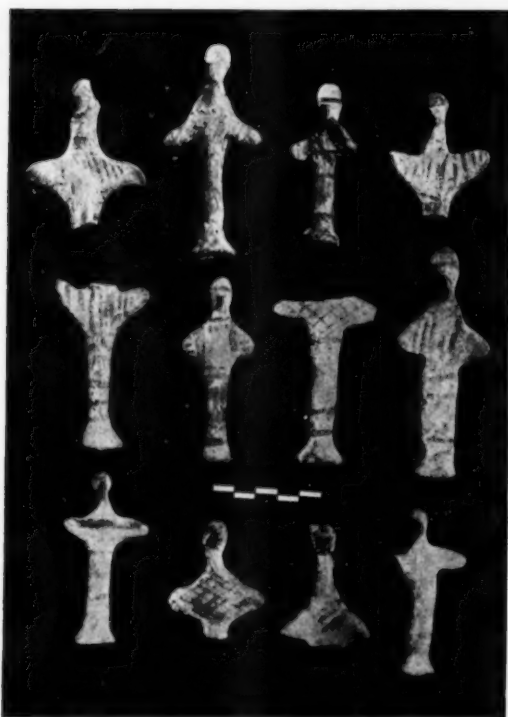


FIG. 10.—FIGURINES FROM THE SUB-GEOMETRIC PYRE

uppermost two courses of this foundation are built of long and flat Eleusinian stones placed in horizontal layers and projecting beyond the outer face of the wall. As is well known, a single course of Eleusinian stones similarly placed forms the foundation on which the archaic Telesterion rests. The lower part of the foundation is built of smaller stones laid irregularly in horizontal receding courses. At the point marked "B 1" in Noack's plans (our Pl. XXXIV, O') was evidently a wide entrance corresponding to the stepped entrance of the sub-geometric period and to the later south entrance of the historic sanctuaries. Unfortunately that part of the wall is not so well preserved, but enough remains to prove that the archaic terrace was entered at this point by means of a ramp.

<sup>1</sup> *Praktika*, 1884, pl. A, A', A''; Noack, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, B1-B4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Noack, *op. cit.*, fig. 6.

with a white wash on which are painted elaborate linear designs in a deep red color (Fig. 10).

In Section II lies a portion of the southern side of the polygonal retaining wall which supported the terrace on which the archaic Telesterion was built. It was partly excavated by Philios and it is marked in Noack's plans.<sup>1</sup> We have uncovered its existing remains to their entire length (Fig. 11, Pl. XXXIV, O, O'). For greater resistance the upper courses of this wall are stepped and built of rather long and narrow blocks of Eleusinian stone, placed in regular horizontal layers, but with joints not always vertical. The lower courses, however, are excellent examples of the archaic polygonal masonry with curving joints, known from the remains of the archaic Telesterion<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 12). The wall is laid upon a well constructed foundation averaging one meter in depth. The



FIG. 11.—RETAINING WALL OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

On the face of the wall and for some length are to be seen black patches caused by smoke. That they were caused by the fires of sacrifices was proved by the remains of a pyre discovered between the Periclean column D1 and the retaining wall, untouched by previous excavators and builders. The ashes uncovered, forming but a small section of the pyre, spread over a roughly circular area of 2.80 m. in diameter and averaged 0.80 m. in thickness. They were divided in distinct layers, averaging 0.30 m. in depth, by unworked stones thrown irregularly over them. Most common among the votive offerings discovered in the pyre were vases and terracotta figurines. The vases include examples of Corinthian, Orientalizing, Proto-Attic, and Black-Figured styles of pottery. The first come from the lower, the last from the upper levels of the deposit. Of the Black-Figured ware, most interesting examples are two rings or vase-stands, and the tall and slender stand of a *θυμιατήριον* (Fig. 13). Both belong to the last years of the Black-Figured technique and probably were made by artists who worked in Red-Figured ware. The flat base of the stand is decorated by a chariot race, while its upper part, divided into zones, possibly represents a procession of Gods and Goddesses, led by Hermes holding his staff and wearing his winged sandals and petasos (Fig. 14). On the Black-Figured rings or vase-stands we have the representation of a four-horse chariot driven by two female figures and led by Hermes.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 12.—DETAIL OF ARCHAIC RETAINING WALL

The terracotta figurines represent standing and seated types and belong to the archaic period (Fig. 15). Some of the standing figures recall the Korai of the Acropolis, while the seated examples present similarities to the Branchidai figures.<sup>2</sup> The former hold their veils with the extended left hand, while the right hand, probably holding an offering, is placed below the right breast. The seated figures rest their hands upon their knees. The standing figures seem light and give an impression of motion, while the seated seem condemned by their own weight and solidity

<sup>1</sup> The painting on the rings presents many similarities to the work of Skythes, especially to the pinax of the Acropolis. Cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1885, pl. 3, and probably those on the stand were painted by Nikosthenes or one of his contemporaries.

<sup>2</sup> Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 4; 43, 2, 5; 44, 4; 48, 1, 2, 5; D. M. Robinson, *The Terra-Cottas of Olynthus Found in 1928*, pl. 5.

to retain their positions forever. Both seated and standing figures are covered with color, in most cases red and blue of a dark shade, laid upon a white wash.



FIG. 13.—BLACK-FIGURED STAND  
FROM THE ARCHAIC PYRE



FIG. 14.—BLACK-FIGURED STAND.  
HERMES. DETAIL OF FIG. 13

The vases, terracottas, and lamps discovered in the pyre prove that sacrifices were held at that area from the time when Corinthian vases were in use to the period when Black-Figured ware predominated and was rather advanced in style, that is

during the sixth and possibly during the latter part of the seventh centuries. These dates, we believe, form a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the archaic Telesterion and its terrace. It now seems very probable that these structures were built towards the end of the seventh century. Their building necessitated the filling in of the sub-geometric sacrificial area and created a new site for sacrifices immediately in front of the polygonal retaining wall.



FIG. 15.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM THE ARCHAIC  
PYRE

At the southeast corner of the Telesterion a great part of the Peisistratæan fortifications was uncovered, completing the circuit of the Peisistratæan peribolos around the sanctuary (Pl. XXXIV,  $\Sigma$ ). Dr.

Kourouniotes' excavations from 1926 to 1930 have proved that the polygonal foundation on which the pseudo-isodomic wall was built after the Persian destruction (Section C6-C8 of Noack's plan), is a continuation of the Peisistratean peribolos and not a pre-Peisistratean wall, as was accepted by Noack.<sup>1</sup> In the campaign of 1931 the exact length of the post-Persian wall was determined and the continuation of the Peisistratean wall beyond it was brought to light in front of the Stoa of Philo. It then became evident that the peribolos characterized by Noack as pre-Peisistratean was later and that it was built to enclose not the Archaic but the Peisistratean Telesterion. To this peribolos was correctly attributed a section of a polygonal wall marked by the letters C, C2 in the plans of Noack (Plate 15) as well as the corner C5 preserved below the south side of the Telesterion. Noack, always believing that he had to do with a pre-Peisistratean work, hypothetically completed the part of the wall below the classical floor level. That part of the peribolos has now been brought to light and it can be seen that it is Peisistratean (Pl. XXXIV, Σ, P). It is built in the well known Peisistratean fashion in two parts: the foundation is built of polygonal masonry, the superstructure is of mud brick. The great bend introduced into Noack's plan to end the wall in the corner C5 does not exist in reality, and C5 forms the corner of a great tower which guarded the south entrance of the sanctuary, the *Seetor* of Noack (Pl. XXXIV, P). Both the south or outer and the north or inner faces of this wall present a carefully worked surface and this probably indicates that the area left between the Peisistratean wall and the polygonal terrace formed a *κοίλην ὁδόν*.<sup>2</sup>

The filling covering part of the south court, between the south side of the Telesterion and the stoa to the west of the fourth century gate was removed during this year's excavations, and the scanty remains of the south section of the Periclean peribolos were again brought to light. Now it is clear that a gate existed at this south side as marked by Noack and that a large square tower guarded its entry. Very few blocks of the tower are preserved, but its extent can be made out from the beds cut in the living rock to receive the lower courses. The entrance lies on a lower level than the contemporary terrace and it seems that the ascent was effected by a stairway or rather a ramp, few remains of which have survived. Beyond the gate to the west the Periclean peribolos ended on the Peisistratean wall and did not extend to the west, as marked in the plans of Noack.<sup>3</sup>

Outside the sanctuary the work included extensive soundings on the top of the Eleusinian hill and on the plateau that lies to the west of the so-called tholos tomb<sup>4</sup> and between the Eleusinian Acropolis and the hill crowned by the remains of the mediaeval tower. It has often been stated that no Mycenaean remains existed on the top of the Eleusinian Acropolis, and indeed all efforts to find such had failed. A careful investigation of the area, however, disclosed an undisturbed prehistoric filling, on the northeastern end of the hill and to the west of the small chapel of the

<sup>1</sup> *Praktika*, 1884, pl. Δ, T', T; Noack, *op. cit.*, pls. 14, C5-C8 and 16, C5-C8.

<sup>2</sup> The restoration given by Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 44, fig. 19, gives the correct impression as far as the road is concerned. A great tower, however, has to replace the bend in the fortification wall and on the terrace the Archaic Telesterion must be substituted by the Peisistratean. <sup>3</sup> Noack, *op. cit.*, pl. 16.

<sup>4</sup> That this structure is not a tomb was proved by the discovery of a similar subterranean reservoir on the hill of St. Nikolas. Cf. K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusiniaka* I, pp. 237 ff.



Panaghia. A small portion of it was tested and it seems that the filling has an average depth of 1.50 m. and belongs to the Middle Helladic and to the Late Helladic III periods. Most important remains of the LH III period thus far uncovered are foundations of a large building carefully laid out and averaging 0.90 m. in thickness. They apparently belong to a large construction, possibly to the palace of the rulers of prehistoric Eleusis. At a short distance from the house foundation remains of a thick wall were uncovered probably belonging to the "αἰπὸν τεῖχος" mentioned in the Homeric Hymn. The exact and final determination of the nature of these remains, however, will have to be postponed until the area is completely excavated in a future campaign.

The preliminary work carried on in the west plateau brought to light the remains of a retaining wall carefully built of large polygonal stones in the style of the fourth century peribolos wall built around the καλλιχορον φρέαρ and the greater Propylaea. It seems that it is built around a large terrace, but its exact dimensions and the determination of the building standing on the terrace were left for another campaign. Along the front of this retaining wall a broad road, about 2 m. in width was uncovered, bearing clear marks of the traffic that went along it. To the south of it the slope is covered with Hellenistic and later houses.

It is rather too early in the study of the remains uncovered in the Telesterion area to draw any final or supposedly final conclusions, yet we feel that with all due reserve we can point to certain results indicated by the work.

It is proved, we think, that the wall N, known as the earliest terrace wall, is contemporary with the sub-geometric round or elliptical building K and that it supported the terrace on which that building was standing. The entrance to this enclosure is now determined to be on the southwest side of the terrace and towards the sea. The diagonal position of the steps, the direction of the north, of the east and of the south portions of the wall (marked as wall θ in Philios' plans), would indicate that this terrace had a polygonal shape very appropriate to enclose a round or an elliptical building. The remains of the sacrificial pyre discovered by Philios and by us outside of the terrace wall, and the discovery of a similar pyre in almost the same relative position beyond the Archaic terrace wall, seem to prove decidedly that the round or elliptical structure K was a sanctuary. Unfortunately no other remains of this structure have been preserved in the excavated area and it is impossible to determine whether it was of a round or of an elliptical shape.<sup>1</sup> The sub-geometric sherds discovered will date these structures to the closing quarter of the ninth century B.C.

The problems connected with the Mycenaean remains are more complicated. As we have stated at the beginning, nothing was found in these structures to prove that they were sanctuaries of some sort. There are, however, many reasons which lead us to believe that at least Megaron B was built as a sanctuary. The location of such a large building on the slope of the hill surrounded by a peribolos wall was badly suited for a palace which one might expect to find built upon the hill. And as the remains of what seems to be a palace have been found on the hill, the possibility of a second palace on the slope becomes very dubious. The value of the peribolos

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Noack's remarks about contemporary round and elliptical buildings, *op. cit.*, p. 10.



as a defensive work is also very small, since it could hardly be defended if attacked from the higher levels of the hill. Its use was limited rather to affording privacy to the structure. The shape of Megaron B with its projecting platform is, as far as we know, unique in Mycenaean structures, but it agrees with the specifications given by Demeter for the construction of her temple:

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι νηὸν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμόν ὑπ' αὐτῷ (*Hymn to Dem.*, v. 270)

It is not improbable that an altar was placed at the end of the platform. At Eleusis and during the historic period large structures proven to be sacred were built over the same spot and at the side of the hill which because of its great slope was badly suited for large constructions. The selection of the site was certain'y dictated by considerations of sanctity, brought about by long observance of an ancient cult. Continuity of cult places, as pointed out recently by Professor Nilsson, is not uncommon in Greece.<sup>1</sup> When our last proto-historic building K was constructed, towards the end of the ninth century, the spot was already sacred from previous worship, otherwise a better site would have been chosen. And when we consider that the sub-geometric structure as well as the later buildings were built over ground occupied by a building used to the end of the prehistoric age, with a unique ground plan which reminds us of the command of Demeter, we may conclude with some reason that this prehistoric building was used for the worship which sanctified the site and made it a desirable location for the historic structures. These considerations lead us to believe that Megaron B was originally built as a place of worship, if not at the command of Demeter herself, at least under the constraint of a religious feeling which led to the observance of rites connected with her worship.

Building H is later in date than Megaron B. At present it is hard to determine whether it was in use simultaneously with the older structure, or whether it replaced the Megaron after it was destroyed or abandoned. Their relations present difficulties which can only be solved after an exhaustive study of the remains, and this will be reserved for the final publication.<sup>2</sup> If we assume that structure H was used for worship, and we feel certain that it was, then we have an almost unbroken record of Eleusinian sanctuaries from the fifteenth century before Christ, to the fifth century of our era, when sanctity of the site was ended by the invasion of the Goths and the orders of the Byzantine Emperors. Our only lacuna in this record is due to the unknown history of the geometric period. But this could also be amended if we accept the hypothesis that the Late Helladic buildings were completely or partially used at that period. This hypothesis is strengthened by the discovery of two characteristic geometric handles almost on the floor of Room H1. We must admit that the evidence is scanty, but the undisturbed area left for us to test and excavate was also scanty. We should note that below the remains of Building H and of Megaron B no actual filling or remains of the Late Helladic I and II periods exist, but that the Middle Helladic relics immediately follow those of the last Helladic

<sup>1</sup> Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 391 ff. A. Keramopoulos, *Praktika of the Academy of Athens*, 2, 1927, pp. 427 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We hope to publish the final results in the near future, with the collaboration of our colleagues, Messrs. J. Travlos and J. Threpsiades in the second volume of the *Eleusiniaka*.

period. This was also noticed in Section II in which the Late Helladic III foundations are based upon Middle Helladic filling when they do not rest upon the rock.

Finally we may remark that neither in the architectural remains nor in the smaller relics, with one exception, did we find elements which could be attributed to Cretan or Egyptian influence. The slightly raised pavement discovered in front of one of the "halls" of the Palace at Mallia could possibly be cited as a Cretan parallel.<sup>1</sup> But it could scarcely be compared, at least at present, with the platform stretching in front of Megaron B. One large sherd belonging to an amphora of the palace style was found in the artificial filling used for the levelling of the floor of room H, and this was the only object discovered showing Cretan influence. Even this probably amounts to very little when we recall the numerous jars of the palace style produced on the mainland of Greece itself.

The important results obtained in this year's campaign can hardly be overestimated.<sup>2</sup> Especially has our knowledge of the area of the Telesterion been greatly increased. The fortunes of that area can now be studied in a final way from the beginning to the end of Eleusinian history. The worship on the site and possibly its provenance may now be treated anew with profit.

K. KOUROUNIOTES  
ELEUSIS, GREECE

GEORGE E. MYLONAS  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

<sup>1</sup> *B.C.H.* XLVIII, 1924, pp. 494 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This brief summary of the work we believe is pertinent, since the problems connected with Eleusis are of general interest, and since our final report may be delayed for some time. The preservation of the historical remains necessitates refilling of the area excavated in the near future and we feel that it is our duty to let those interested know of the existence of the remains in case they might like to see the relics themselves before they are finally buried.

## AMANTIUS AND THE DATE OF C. P. R. 247

THE kindness of Drs. Baumhackl and Gerstinger of Vienna and of my colleague Prof. L. Arnold Post makes possible the rereadings of C(orpus) P(apyrorum) R(aineri) 247 herewith presented.

This document is a land-lease dated in ll. 20 ff. (as published by Wessely):

ὑπατίας 'Ιουλίου 'Αμαντίου πατρικίου  
τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγούστ'  
καὶ 'Ρουφίου 'Αλβίνου τῶν λαμ-. Φαρμούθι β.

In ll. 10 ff. the lessee receives the land εἰς τ[ὸ]ν σπόρον τῆς εὐτυχούς [ἐ]σιούσης [ἐ]κτῆς ἰνδικτιώνος. The consular date puts the document on April 7, 345,<sup>1</sup> which fell toward the end of the third indiction. Hence, according to Waszynski, the lessee had to wait for more than two years until he entered into possession of his land, i.e. until the sowing of the sixth indiction in 347. The unhappy lessee had already paid his rent for the year in full,<sup>2</sup> and the whole transaction seems quite irregular. Furthermore, when one considers that in 345 Constantine II had been dead for five years and Constantine I had been dead for nearly eight, the difficulties of the traditional attribution become even more apparent. And finally, the issue is still worse confounded by a rereading of the indictional number by Zereteli, who saw δεκάτης instead of [ἐ]κτῆς in ll. 11 ff.<sup>3</sup> This would involve a wait of more than six years until occupancy.

The inconsistencies vanish under a new reading of ll. 20 ff. as follows:

ὑπα]τίας 'Ιουλίου Κω(ν)σταντίνου πατρικίου  
ἀδελ]φοῦ<sup>4</sup> τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶ(ν) Κω(ν)σταντίνου ἀγούστου  
καὶ 'Ρουφίου κτλ.

The date is thus changed to April 7, 335, at the end of the eighth indiction, when Julius Constantius and Rufius Albinus were consuls. The former is always described as "patrician, the brother of our Lord Constantine Augustus,"<sup>5</sup> and C.P.R. 247 takes its proper place in the series dated by him and Albinus. It further now carries greater conviction in the context given it by Waszynski, for since the lease is dated at the end of the eighth indiction and occupancy was to begin with the sowing of the tenth, there was an interim of only one season instead of two, which brings our document into closer connection with a group of similar fourth century leases.

<sup>1</sup> So Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht*, p. 66, instead of the editorial misprint of 346.

<sup>2</sup> l. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*, p. 124, confirmed by Dr. Baumhackl.

<sup>4</sup> "There are traces of strokes that fit ἀδελφοῦ, but the φ was very carelessly written, and the effect is that of ι. As a φ it is 'ganz wunderbar.'"

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Larson, *Die Fest-Briefe des H. Athanasius* 1852, p. 93, and especially P. S. I. vi, 706, 1; P. Oxy. ix, 1206, 1; x, 1265, 1; xii, 1470, 1, which read 'Ιουλίου Κωνσταντίνου πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγούστου.

This rereading is also of some interest in the constitution of the fourth century consular fasti, since the displacing of the document from 345 removes at the same time the only evidence for Julius as the name of Amantius.<sup>1</sup> Actually his *praenomen* was Flavius, and no other *nomen* or *praenomen* is ever given.<sup>2</sup>

H. COMFORT

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

<sup>1</sup> So given by Liebenam, *Fasti cons. imp. Rom.*, pp. 36, 85; Preisigke, *Wörterb.* iii, 1, p. 75; and generally.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, P. Lond. iii, 1246-1249, pp. 224-228 (with *Berichtigungsliste*, p. 290), and Rossi, *Inscr. christ. urb. Rom.* i, p. 590.

## ACTIVITIES IN THE AMERICAN ZONE OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA, SUMMER OF 1932

DURING the spring campaign of 1932 a number of ancient wells and cisterns were explored. In the following summer, after the close of the excavation proper, the digging of those already begun was completed and several more, detected only in the final clearing of the excavated areas, were fully examined. As a result, there have now been investigated some eight cisterns, both single and multiple, and twenty-three wells,—a considerable number for a comparatively small area. But Pausanias, visiting the city even after its water-system had been so generously extended by the Emperor Hadrian, commented on the general use of wells as distinct from flowing sources; and indeed at the present day, despite the still more abundant supplies of water from outside the city provided by the recently completed Marathon Dam and distributing system, scores of wells continue in use throughout the town and especially in the district of the Agora. The German Archaeological Institute, in cleaning the earlier Agora between the Acropolis and the Pnyx Hill, came upon ancient wells in surprising numbers.

The cisterns are all small, intended only for the storage of rain water for private houses. They are of a type common in the classical period in this part of Greece, consisting of one or more bell-shaped chambers from 1.50 to 4.00 m. in diameter on the floor and opening above in a round mouth just large enough to permit of easy bailing. Invariably the interiors are completely plastered. In only one case was a single chamber found. Ordinarily two such cisterns at a distance of a few meters from one another, and each provided with a mouth above, were connected by an underground channel high enough to permit of the passage of a man. Another system comprises three chambers. Still another embraces at least four such basins, irregularly spaced, together with their connecting and other lateral passageways, the whole extending to a length of over 20 m. The small size of the individual chambers and their consequent multiplicity were doubtless necessitated by the faulty nature of the soft bedrock in which they were cut. But even the limited dimensions did not relieve the owners of trouble, for the ceilings of passages and chambers were constantly falling in, so that parts of the systems had from time to time to be blocked off as useless and other additions made.

These cisterns are often of interest for the topography of the district, for in many cases they are all that remains of the dwellings which they served. Consequently, although continuous habitation during the intervening centuries has left scarcely a stone from houses of the classical period, it may be inferred from the presence of the cisterns that the areas around the northern foot of the Areopagus, and between the "Theseion" and the newly exposed Royal Stoa were occupied by private dwellings during that epoch. All the cisterns so far explored seem to have gone out of use and to have been filled in between the fourth and second centuries B.C., perhaps as a result of changing customs, possibly because of the gradual extension of the distributing system for the water brought to the city in aqueducts. The groups of



vases found in clearing the chambers, and especially those associated with coins, will provide valuable material for the study of the many obscure problems still presented by Hellenistic pottery.

The wells were constructed in a variety of ways. The simplest consist of a round shaft, 0.90 to 1.50 m. in diameter, cut down through the earth and bedrock, and unlined. One may still descend by the two lines of toe-holes cut in the walls by the ancient workmen. But such simplicity of construction was not practical for wells of any great depth the walls of which would, and did, certainly cave in if not reinforced. In most cases, therefore, the shaft was curved with heavy tiles around 0.60 m. in height, three single tiles forming a cylinder with an internal diameter of about 0.90 m. The cylinders were made up in the tile works and the segments carefully lettered so that the well-digger might insert each in its proper place. This style of construction was well known in the fifth century B.C. and appears to have continued in use into Roman times. Its efficacy is proven by the almost perfect preservation of many of the shafts. One of the most interesting of all the wells was found between the northeast corner of the "Theseion" and the Royal Stoa. It consists of a rectangular shaft, measuring 1.20 x 2.40 m. at the mouth, cut down through soft rock to a depth of nearly 20 m. This shaft must date from the sixth century B.C. Another smaller rectangular shaft (1.00 x 1.06 m. at the mouth), lined with polygonal masonry, at a depth of 4.70 m. tapped an underground stream flowing down the northern slope of the Areopagus. Even in midsummer the water now rises to the top of the shaft and in ancient times was carried away by a well-made stone channel of which several blocks were found in position. The shaft was already filled up and so out of use as early as the fifth century B.C. The wells proper range in depth from 9 to over 26 meters. They still yield abundant water. Indeed the water table in this part of the city probably lies higher now than in antiquity because of the vast quantities of water being poured into the town by the new mains, water for which escape is not provided by any adequate system of sewers. Consequently the clearing of each well can be accomplished only by constant bailing of the water for the greater part of the depth of the shaft.

But experience has proven that the expense and effort involved in such clearing are amply justified by the results. As the exploration of the cisterns proved the existence of private dwellings along the north foot of the Areopagus and to the northeast of the "Theseion" during classical times, the clearing of the wells has shown that both these areas were in such occupation as early as the sixth century B.C. It is the wells and cisterns also which have preserved the best evidence for the occupations of the inhabitants of these regions. In a shallow well at the northern foot of the Areopagus a mass of fine buff clay was found, sufficient to occupy a depth of more than a meter in the shaft. Pure and washed, quite distinct from the filling above and below, it had clearly been prepared for use in vase-making. Why it was discarded is not clear but its presence proves the existence of pottery works in the immediate neighborhood. This well was filled in not later than the sixth century B.C. In a nearby cistern, filled in at the turn of the fourth to the third century B.C., equally clear evidence was found: a couple of complete moulds for terracotta figurines of that period, many fragments of other such moulds and a small hand-

modelled male head, unfinished, which gives the impression of a lively portrait study. Three other wells, two of which had been filled in toward the close of the sixth century, the third between the middle of the sixth and the early fifth centuries, yielded masses of painted pottery of that period. No dedicatory inscriptions were found to suggest that these vases were votive offerings discarded from neighboring shrines. Both the quality and quantity of the material makes it improbable that it was ordinary waste from private homes. The deposits may be most simply explained as the accumulated dumps of spoiled and broken pottery from nearby ceramic workshops and warehouses. This explanation is made more probable by the discovery of pots which had been used to hold and still retained traces of the red *milto*s used in the coloring of Attic clay. Further confirmation is afforded by groups of three, four, or more kylikes, skyphoi and lekythoi so similar in shape and style of decoration as to make it certain that they came from the same shops and hands. That the potters lived on in these areas at least into the fourth century A.D. is proven by the discovery, again in wells, of fragments of pottery and lamps of that period, spoiled in the firing and therefore discarded. And so, though the work of the past year added little to our knowledge of the public buildings of the Agora, it has thrown much light on one of the most interesting phases of the life in the inner Kerameikos.

The material from the wells also affords much valuable evidence for the history of Athenian ceramics. In this connection fillings of two types must be distinguished. Some of the shafts continued in use as wells over long periods during which they were gradually filled up by inblowing earth and by pots accidentally dropped. Thus in one well the lowest filling belongs to the latter half of the fifth century B.C. The material from the higher levels grows gradually later and later, passing through the fourth and the third centuries. By the end of the latter century the filling had risen to such a height that water could no longer be drawn in the dry season and consequently the well went out of use. Other shafts have yielded similar gradual fillings extending from the first into the fourth centuries A.D. and from the third into the fourth. The bulk of the produce from such fillings has naturally consisted of the water pitchers and terracotta lamps dropped in by careless house-maids. As a result the shelves of the excavation storerooms display an almost unbroken series, extending from the sixth century B.C. into late Roman times, of water containers: large, hand-made hydriae of astonishingly thin fabric from the late sixth and fifth centuries, basket-handled pitchers ranging in date from Hellenistic times to the fourth century A.D., oinochoai of all periods. The chronology of such plain ware, hitherto largely obscure, may now be fixed in a relative way by the depth of the various types in the deep continuous fillings and in an absolute way by the occurrence of coins in immediate association in the fillings.

But more unusual objects have sometimes found their way by chance into the shafts. Thus wells yielded the bronze head of which preliminary notices have already appeared; an ephebic inscription of the late third century A.D., probably the latest of its kind; and a marble group of a satyr and goat, of Roman period, in an excellent state of preservation.

Other shafts served as wells for only short periods after which they went out of

use either because of their meager yield of water or because their walls caved in, in the lower parts. Afterwards they served as convenient dumping places for rubbish of all sorts, including vast quantities of pottery, much of it, as noted above, probably coming directly from the shops of the Kerameikos.



FIG. 1.—SIREN OINOCHOE

Thus in the well mentioned above containing the potter's clay, the shaft was packed for some depth beneath the clay with pottery. Of the figured material, perhaps the finest piece is the upper part of an oinochoe dating from the turn of the seventh to the sixth century (Fig. 1). The body of the vase was well filled by two large sirens with raised wings, facing one another. The neck, bounded above by a broad black band and below by a narrow, is occupied by a zone of four characteristically Attic geese, advancing left, heads down. Dot rosettes are sparingly used in the field. The wings, tails, and heads of the birds, the faces, bodies and upper part of the wings of the sirens are done in purple and the

interior details are rendered by the restrained use of incision. From the same deposit but of somewhat later date is a skyphos with slightly flaring lip, decorated on either side by a youth riding a hippeletryon; a low plain kylix with offset lip rivalling in shape and fabric the similar but larger piece in the Athens National Museum signed by Exekias; and a hydria showing in a panel bounded laterally by conventional ivy-sprays a quadriga and driver facing front.

Farther to the north of the Areopagus, in Section Delta, two wells were exposed, cut down close beside each other to a depth of 13 m. A number of large plain water-jars lying at the bottom proved that they had served as wells for some time. But, as the shafts were uncurbed, the dividing wall of soft rock between them soon broke down,



FIG. 2.—OINOCHOE: HERAKLES IN OLYMPOS

rendering them useless. The great mass of glazed pottery thrown in with the filling above the caved-in part is homogeneous in date and appears to belong to the third and last quarters of the sixth century. The most common shape is the kylix, of which there are many both stemmed and stemless, with plain and offset rims, some decorated and others painted with plain black glaze. Among the decorated are several good specimens done in the "Kleinmeister" style. Skyphoi too abound, many of them plain, many carrying the typical hastily executed black-figure scenes of the period. Terracotta lamps are well represented and there are besides scores of small black glazed vases of various shapes. Lekythoi and oinochoai are rarer. One of the better specimens of the latter shape is illustrated in Figure 2. Herakles sits in Olympos with his advocate Athena close beside him, Hermes and Dionysos beyond. From close beside this oinochoe came a slender olpe on which appear Athena and Dionysos, both sheltered by the former's ample shield.

The deep rectangular rock-cut shaft to the northeast of the "The-seion" yielded over 100 four gallon cans full of broken pottery. This shaft appears to have been a failure as a well and so began to be filled in shortly after it was cut. The vase found in the deepest clearing is an oinochoe very close in shape and style to several which bear the signature of Amasis. In a panel bounded above by a fine band of lotus bud pattern two armed war-



FIG. 3.—SPHINX AMPHORA



FIG. 4.—CUP WITH BRIDE AND DWARF



riors and three women stand side by side. The vases from the filling above grow later and later as they approach the top, the uppermost being of the first quarter of the fifth century. Here again kylikes predominate, although there are also a good

many lekythoi, especially miniature pieces of the late sixth century. Among the other vases there is a fine specimen of a medium sized panel amphora, showing on either side in a plain panel a mounted youth. Figure 3 illustrates a larger amphora from the late seventh century. On the broad black band running round the lower body of the vase above the base-rays crouches a sphinx, with down-pointing wings. Around the roots of the handles are tendrils and palmettes. Space fillers are of the zigzag-dot and point rosette varieties, although wheel rosettes encircle the lip. This is much the oldest vase from the shaft and the worn state of its surface suggests that before reaching the well it had long been exposed to the weather,—perhaps on a tomb.

Apart from a few sherds, red-figure fabric is represented only by kylikes of which about a dozen are more or less complete. Satyrs and athletes in various poses occupy the medallions of most. One of the latest specimens appears in Figure 4. On the medallion a bride with draped head and a mirror in her right hand sits on a stool in front of a couch. By her side stands a singular dwarfish figure resting his weight on a huge walking-stick. The field is dotted with pseudo letters of a nonsense inscription. On one side of the exterior four men lounge idly playing with their dogs. A leopard also stands close by. On the other side there remain



FIG. 5.—PLASTIC VASE. KNEELING BOY

only the stool of one seated figure and the feet of one standing figure. The comparative scantiness of the red-figure is suggestive of the predominant position which black-figure retained well down into the fifth century.

From deep down in the shaft came the plastic vase illustrated in Figure 5. It





FIG. 6.—OSTRAKON WITH NAME HIPPARCHOS



FIG. 7.—OSTRAKON WITH NAME MEGAKLES SON OF HIPPOKRATES



FIG. 8.—OSTRAKON WITH NAME ARISTEIDES SON OF LYSIMACHOS



FIG. 9.—OSTRAKON WITH NAME THEMISTOKLES



FIG. 10.—OSTRAKON WITH NAME HIPPOKRATES SON OF ANAXILEAS



FIG. 11.—OSTRAKON WITH NAME HIPPOKRATES SON OF ALKMEON

stands 0.255 m. high. A kneeling youth, resting on his knees and toes, raises his hands as if to bind a ribbon about his head. The ribbon (perhaps of cloth or metal) has disappeared, but the hands are modelled so that it might have passed through the bent fingers, and a slight indentation on the top of the head may have served to keep it in place. The mouth of the vase, with handle behind, rises above the head of the youth. The figure probably represents an athlete in the act of binding his hair, holding in his flask-body the oil for use in the palaestra. Black paint is applied on the polished clay surface only to indicate the pupils and lids and brows of the eyes and the nipples of the breasts. The modelling, even to such details as fingernails, is exquisitely done and the piece forms an important document for the study of Attic plastic art around the middle of the sixth century.

Between the depths of 4.50 and 9 m. in the same well, ten inscribed ostraka were found. Of these one bears the name of Hipparchos (Fig. 6), the first citizen to suffer ostracism. The balloting took place in 487 B.C., and this is the first known ostrakon of that year. The name of Megakles, son of Hippokrates, banished in 486 B.C., occurs on three of the newly found pieces (cf. Fig. 7). Two other sherds bearing his name were already known (*I.G.I<sup>2</sup>* 908). Three others are the first known ostraka carrying the name of Aristides, son of Lysimachos, i.e. Aristides the Just, the story of whose ostracism in 482 is well known from Plutarch (cf. Fig. 8). In close association with these was found one inscribed with the name of Themistokles (Fig. 9), dating probably from 482, when the names of both Aristides and Themistokles were put to the vote, rather than to the occasion about a decade later when Themistokles was actually exiled. Two other ostraka against Themistokles, already known, have been referred to the latter occasion (*I.G.I<sup>2</sup>*, 910). Another piece is inscribed 'Hippokrates son of Anaxileas' (Fig. 10), an otherwise unknown character. Still another fragmentary sherd reads: (Fig. 11).

HITTITOKPATES  
A]KMEONIA<sub>0</sub>

Nor is the identification of this person certain. He may conceivably have been the father of the Megakles banished in 486 and hence the son of an earlier Megakles and grandson of Alkmeon. These documents, in addition to furnishing valuable evidence for the chronology of the red-figure pottery found with them, vividly recall political events of the decade following Marathon.

HOMER THOMPSON

AMERICAN ZONE OF AGORA  
EXCAVATIONS, ATHENS

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

### EXCAVATIONS AT STOBİ IN JUGOSLAVIA

IT IS perhaps not as generally known as the importance of the work merits, that excavations of great interest are being carried on by the Belgrade Museum under the able and enthusiastic direction of its head, Dr. Valdemar R. Petković, at the site of Stobi, once the capital of Macedonia Secunda. It was during a trip of archaeological reconnaissance, made together with Dr. V. J. Fewkes and Mr. R. W. Ehrich in the summer of 1932 in the interests of the Fogg and Peabody Museums of Harvard University and of the American School of Prehistoric Research, that I was privileged to see the excavations under the guidance of Dr. Petković and of his assistants, Dr. J. Petrović and Mr. D. Zisi, curators of the Belgrade Museum. The profound impression made upon me, both by the finds, which have been transported to various museums of the country and by the ruins themselves, leads me to write this brief account of my visit and to urge upon travellers to Yugoslavia, and above all upon archaeologists, no longer to confine their journey to the Dalmatian coast and the museums of Split and Salona, but to include in their itinerary the ruins of Stobi, the local museum of Gradsko, the Lapidarium of Skoplje and above all the museum of Belgrade, where the finest pieces from Stobi are housed. The student of pre-history has already learned that he cannot afford to omit a visit to this museum. The recent development of road building and the simple, but adequate and clean accommodations which can everywhere be found, make this an easy and rewarding undertaking. The illustrations, in order to give a better idea of the significance of Stobi, include, not only recent finds, but sculpture and architectural members of ecclesiastical and secular buildings long since known and some of them published. They were given me by Dr. Petković and the Belgrade Press Bureau, to whom I wish to express my thanks.

It is my enthusiasm rather than my competence which has lead me to write about a site whose chief glory is its Byzantine architecture and the light it throws upon the period of transition from Roman to Byzantine. In the beautiful bishop's church, illustrated in Figs. 1-5, Stobi has a monument of rare distinction ranking in importance with the early churches of Salonica. The preservation of detail, especially of the peacocks in high relief, is unusual. The variety of designs and methods of carving of the capitals is striking. It has been suggested that, as the church was built by the bishop with the assistance of private donations, the different styles may represent the contributions of individual donors. Fig. 5, according to the reconstruction of Dr. Egger (*Jh. Oest. Arch.* I, 1929, pp. 42 ff.) forms part of the ambon. The bishop's church is only one among a number of such buildings. An inscription referring to the reconstruction of the synagogue shows that this important commercial town, situated at the confluence of the Vardar (Axius) and Črna (Erigon), had a Jewish community of some wealth.

Perhaps even more astonishing than the churches, due to the zeal of bishops and pious citizens, is the magnificence of the secular architecture. A number of truly



FIG. 1.—CAPITAL FROM THE COLONNADE OF BISHOP'S CHURCH. FOURTH-FIFTH CENTURY



FIG. 2.—BISHOP'S CHURCH CAPITAL. FOURTH-FIFTH CENTURY



FIG. 3.—STOBI. CAPITAL FROM BISHOP'S CHURCH. FOURTH-FIFTH CENTURY



FIG. 4.—STOBI. CAPITAL FROM BISHOP'S CHURCH. FOURTH-FIFTH CENTURY



FIG. 5.—STOBI. ARCHITECTURAL DETAIL FROM BISHOP'S CHURCH. PROBABLY FROM AMBON. FOURTH-FIFTH CENTURY



FIG. 6.—STOBI. PARTHENIOS PALACE

palatial residences have already been uncovered. They are characterized by rooms of large proportion, and particularly by immense peristyle courts with either central rectangular basins or apsidal ones against a wall containing niches for statuary. The walls were incrustured with marble or painted with frescoes of conventional designs or groups of figures. The floors were frequently of mosaic. Figs. 6 and 7, both from the Palace of Parthenios, give a good idea of the marble work of conventional design and of the ornamental statuary. Two bronze satyrs,—of which only one is illustrated,—excellent pieces of Hellenistic sculpture, were found here and evidently represent relics from the earlier days of the city under Macedonian rule. To the same class of survivals belongs the beautiful Roman matron of the Claudian period found in recent excavations (Fig. 8). She brings to mind the unknown matron of the Naples Museum (Hekler, No. 206). Fig. 9 portrays a citizen, probably of the third century A.D. The interesting Corinthian column decorated with protomic heads, shown from two sides in Figs. 10 and 11, is also a recent find.

Undoubtedly the earliest complete building as yet found at Stobi, and one of the first to be excavated by Dr. Saria, is the well preserved



FIG. 7.—PARTHENIOS PALACE. DANCING SATYR





FIG. 8.—POLICHARNUS PALACE. ROMAN MATRON



FIG. 9.—STOBI. STATUE OF A CITIZEN

theatre with its marble seats and revetments, which is generally considered to be Roman work of the third century A.D. It has been only partially laid bare.

While I was at Stobi the work of uncovering the Byzantine circuit wall was in progress. The north gate, with an impressive colonnaded portico, was just appearing, and inscriptions both in Greek and Latin turned up with almost every spadeful of earth. To excavators who have worked at less rewarding sites, the abundance of finds seemed truly extraordinary, and one can only hope that this undertaking, begun by Dr. Saria and now being carried forward by Dr. Petković and the staff of the Belgrade Museum, may find financial support commensurate with the zeal of its directors.

HETTY GOLDMAN

NEW YORK CITY



FIG. 10



FIG. 11

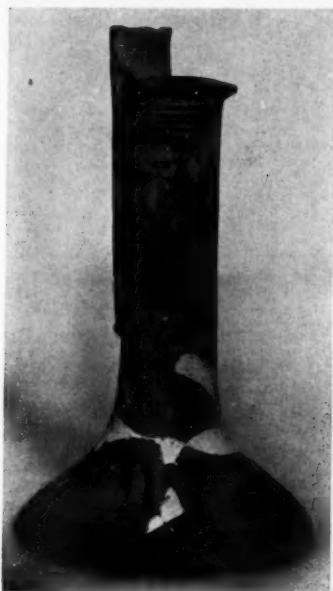


FIG. 4—ITHACA. AETOS. VASE  
WITH SIGNATURE OF ARTIST  
KALIKLEAS

### CORRIGENDA

THE Editorial Staff regrets that a substitution of blocks at the Press caused an incorrect illustration to appear in News Items from Athens on page 157 of the last number of the JOURNAL. The correct cut appears herewith.

The price of "The Isaac Master" By Frank Jewett Mather, Princeton University Press, 1932, is \$8.00 and not \$10.00 as quoted on page 198 of Book Reviews in the March issue of the JOURNAL.



FIG. 12.—BOWL WITH IBEX DESIGN. HISSAR I



FIG. 14.—BOTTLE PITCHER. HISSAR III



FIG. 13.—POTTERY OF HISSAR II

## THE JOINT EXPEDITION TO PERSIA

THE Joint Expedition to Persia under the auspices of the University Museum and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art started excavations in the beginning of 1931 and was later joined by the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology. Mrs. William Boyce Thompson was our principal patroness and most faithful friend.

The first aim was the sounding out of a site in Mesopotamia, namely Fara (Shuruppak), previously investigated by a German expedition. We succeeded in determining the length of the occupation, and in establishing the chronological sequence of cultural remains (cf. *Mus. J.* XXII, 3, *Excavations at Fara*).

Tepe Hissar near Damghan in northeastern Persia was the principal focus of our activities. During two long seasons we thoroughly examined this important site and consider our work completed, from the scientific viewpoint, though a large part of the site is still unexcavated.

We determined three prehistoric culture phases (Hissar I, II, and III), and in addition discovered a Sassanian palace, built on the periphery of the ruins long after the desertion of the main site. The characteristic features of the successive culture complexes are as follows:

### HISSAR I (FIG. 12)

We assume that the first settlers of Tepe Hissar appeared there in the fourth millennium. They were an agricultural people of the early Copper Age, as is evidenced by pins and fragments of this metal found in the lowermost refuse of the mound. The date of this deposit is defined by painted pottery, at first handmade and decorated with simple geometrical patterns. During the succeeding phases of this period the wheel was introduced and attractive animal patterns appear. Innumerable stone beads were worn in the form of necklaces, bracelets, belts and anklets. We found in addition many gypsum seals and seal-shaped ornaments in the graves of this period. Knives, saws and scrapers of chalcedony were frequent in all prehistoric deposits of the mound.

Judging by the uniform development within this period and by the presence, in the heart of Iran, of remains identical with the earliest deposit of Tepe Hissar, we believe that the home of this culture is inner Iran.

### HISSAR II (FIG. 13)

In the third millennium, according to our estimate, foreigners from the Turkoman Steppe seem to have invaded the region of Tepe Hissar. They introduced plain, dark gray pottery, displacing in time the painted ware of the Hissar I people, but adopting to a large extent the earlier pot forms. Synchronously with the appearance of the newcomers, a decided elaboration of weapons and of other copper implements took place, though the manner of life, as compared with that of the preceding period did not change much.



FIG. 13.—SASSANIAN STAG PLAQUE

#### HISSAR III (FIG. 14)

The culture of Hissar II seems to have passed into the last and highest developed prehistoric culture represented at the site. Gray ceramics remain, but the vessel forms change. The footed bowls, jars and goblets of the preceding periods disappear. A bottle pitcher, unstemmed bowls and cups now prevail. Ornaments and vessels of precious metal become relatively frequent. Beautiful alabaster vessels appear during the final phase of the last period. Elaborate wands, ornaments of semi-precious stones, splendid weapons and tools of copper are deposited with the dead.

Various external influences are indicated by some imported seal cylinders, by the sudden appearance of alabaster vessels, and by an admixture of pronounced Mongols to the prevalent Caucasian population. We attribute the end of Hissar III, and therewith of the prehistoric occupation, to the first half of the second millennium B.C. For the present, our only chronological clue is the total absence of iron in the uppermost graves and buildings.

#### THE SASSANIAN PALACE (FIG. 15)

In the beginning of the Sassanian period, perhaps as early as the third century A.D., a Sassanian noble built a palace on the marginal deposit of the prehistoric towns. In the débris of the once impressive building we found the remains of columns enclosed by ornamented stucco shells. There was a series of plaques decorated with boars, stags, does and female busts; others, with a design composed of Sassanian characters. In addition, stucco friezes, fragments of archivolts, arched gateways and other architectural units enabled us to gain a good idea of the beauty of the original building.

ERICH F. SCHMIDT

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA



## THE CURRENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

THE third campaign of excavation in the American zone of the Athenian Agora was begun in the second week of February and, although the work planned for the present season is little more than half finished, a brief report is herewith presented of the more important results which have been achieved up to May 1. About 180 laborers are regularly employed on the work and, in spite of the slow and careful methods of digging which are essential for archaeological excavation, fourteen thousand tons of earth have already been removed.

Excavations are being conducted in four blocks, of which the most northern one, Sector Eta, lies east of the Kolonos Agoraios, between modern Poseidon and Epony-



FIG. 16.—THE NORTH AREA OF THE EXCAVATIONS. VIEW FROM THE SOUTHWEST

mos Streets, and is bounded on the north by the Athens-Piraeus electric railway. This sector, of which a view is shown in Fig. 16, is situated east of the Royal Stoa which was uncovered in the previous campaigns. In it should be found the east front of the Stoa, and the north extension of the street which had been discovered in the adjoining sector on the south. As the progress of the excavation must be guided by the convenience of handling and disposing of the masses of earth to be removed, the work in this block has so far been largely concentrated in the central part of the area, where a group of Byzantine houses has been uncovered which were superim-

posed on Roman walls, and on the east side where Greek and Roman strata lie at a depth of some five metres below modern street level. In order to make clear the relative positions of the different areas under excavation a plan of the American zone, with the delimitation of the sectors, is given in Plate XXXV.

The block south of Sector Eta was cleared in the preceding campaigns with the result of revealing a broad street with a large water-channel passing beneath it, and with the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios on its west side. The second area of the current excavations, Sector Zeta, is situated in the adjoining block to the south, and its excavation should reveal the course of the street in the southerly direction and should lead to the discovery of the buildings located on the street. Already in this area two sections of the great water-channel have been found, which passes beneath the street in the sector on the north. These sections of the channel curve respectively in a southeastern and a southwestern direction with a junction on the eastern side of the area. This fact indicates a fork in the street with branches extending both to the east and to the west. This would be in conformity with the topography of the district, according to which it is clear that two roads led to the Acropolis from the Agora, one passing between the Acropolis and the Areopagus and the other between the Areopagus and the Pnyx.

An object of topographical significance from this area is a roof tile which is stamped with a dedication ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ, "to the Mother of the Gods." This was found near the site where the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods should be located according to the description of Pausanias, who mentions it shortly after passing the Stoa of Zeus. The tile undoubtedly comes from the Metroon and indicates the presence of the temple in the immediate neighborhood. It is also noteworthy that two small statuettes of the Goddess have been found, one in the northern area of excavation and the other in the sector east of Zeta. The Goddess is represented as seated and as holding a tympanon, and in one case a small lion is lying on her lap.

Just east of the second sector lies the third area of excavation, Sector Theta. On the south side of this block very heavy foundation walls of a large building have been uncovered which extend through the area for a distance of over 60 metres. The building is rectangular in shape and has a width of 15 metres. Since the only large building mentioned in this vicinity by Pausanias is the Bouleuterion, it has been provisionally conjectured that the foundations belong to that structure. The evidence provided by the pottery, lamps, terracottas, coins and other objects lying abundantly about the foundations indicates that the building was constructed in the Hellenistic period. Its shape accords with our knowledge that the walls were decorated with paintings and that the hall was divided into two rooms, one for the senators and the other for the spectators (W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., p. 347).

The great water-channel, which has been noted as passing through the east bank of Sector Zeta, enters this area on the west side, makes a wide bend and passes out on the south. It is admirably constructed with a stone floor, with walls of ashlar masonry and with a cover of heavy blocks, a few of which are still in place. The course of the water-channel is important, since it probably follows more or less closely the route of the ancient street.

Sector Iota, the fourth area of work in the present campaign, is situated just south of the Stoa of Attalos, on the extreme eastern edge of the American zone. A large portal has been uncovered here with a paved street running through it in an east-west direction. A heavy wall extends through the west side of the area from its northern to its southern end. It is constructed with two faces made of large blocks, many of which are marble architectural pieces from the Stoa of Attalos and from other buildings. At the south end seven large drums of Doric columns of good workmanship have been incorporated in the wall, and on one of the many architrave blocks is an inscription which names the archon Herodes, son of Eukles. It is not yet certain whether this refers to the archon of the year 60-59 B.C., or to his grandson of the same name. Between the faces of the wall is a loose fill, from which objects should be secured by which the date of its construction may be definitely settled. Previous investigators have assigned it to periods as diverse as those of Justinian, 527-565 A.D., and of the Venetian Antonio Acciajoli, 1402-1435 (Judeich, *op. cit.* pp. 108 and 165). As far as the current excavations have progressed the cut in the bed-rock, in which the foundations of the wall are set, has yielded objects, such as coins and pottery, which date not later than the first half of the third century A.D. The actual fill between the faces of the wall has not yet been cleared.

This area, also, contains many water-pipes which date from widely different periods. The earliest system is the most interesting. A trench has been cut in the hard-pan for the reception of the pipe, consisting of terracotta sections 60 centimetres long, which are admirably connected with interlocking joints, and each of which has a stoppered opening in the top for cleaning purposes. All the pottery lying in the trench about the pipe dates from the sixth and from the early part of the fifth century B.C. This pipe evidently served as a conveyor of pure water for drinking purposes.

The excavation of these areas, which cover a total surface of two acres, has already yielded important and interesting objects.

The finest piece of sculpture so far found is a marble statue of a winged Nike (Pl. XXXVI, 1). The head and arms are missing, but the figure is standing on its original base. The Nike has the appearance of flying to the left with her right arm raised aloft, while the left hand, clasping the drapery, hung down by the side. The left hand and pieces of the wings have been found, but they do not fit any breaks on the statue. The folds of the thin garment are beautifully executed with the material pulled over a belt at the waist, and with the overlap at the top fastened by a ribbon below the breasts. Very charming and characteristic is the frilling of the garment along the edges. The figure is full of life, grace and action. It is a good work of the fourth century B.C.\* Its type and the weathering of the marble suggest that it may have served as an akroterion, but the building from which it came has not been identified.

Another large statue is a Roman copy of a Greek work of the fifth century B.C. This is the figure of a woman in a standing position (Pl. XXXVI, 2). She is resting her weight on her right leg and the left knee is slightly bent. The head, which was made in a separate piece and was inset in the neck-socket, has disappeared, and both forearms are missing, but the base of the statue is again preserved. The figure

wears a chiton which is fastened on both shoulders. The overhanging fold of the garment is held by a belt about the waist, and on each side the material is pulled out over the belt. The folds of the chiton are simple and severe, and the figure has much dignity and poise. In pose and dress and style it resembles somewhat the Caryatids of the Erechtheion.

Sector Iota of the excavations yielded a small deposit of miniature statuary,



FIG. 17.—PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS

which can be approximately dated by the many coins found in it, of which one is a bronze piece of the Emperor Gallienus, 253–268 A.D., and twenty-five are Imperial Roman coins of Athens of the latter part of the second and of the first half of the third century A.D. One of the pieces of sculpture is a marble statuette of Aphrodite which is standing on a circular base (Pl. XXXVII, 1). The head and the left arm are missing. The total height of the figure as preserved is 43 centimetres. The upper part of the body is nude, but the lower is wrapped in a heavy garment which the Goddess holds at the waist with her right hand. By the right side of the figure a dolphin is represented in vertical position with its head downward. This is a good piece of work of the Roman period. In the same deposit two small heads of Aphrodite were lying, but neither fits the statuette. Both of the heads are pleasing, well preserved pieces.

Another statuette in the deposit is a figure of the Phrygian God of fertility, Attis, which is completely preserved (Pl. XXXVII, 2). The God stands on a high circular base and has a height, including the base, of 77 centimetres. He is nude except for the chlamys which is draped across the left shoulder, and in the folds of which he carries a pine-cone, grapes and other fruit. He wears the customary pointed Phrygian cap. The marble has a high polish and an extraordinary transparency. The work, which is of inferior technique, probably dates from the end of the second century A.D. The cult of Attis was introduced into Athens with the advent of the Attalids in the latter part of the third century B.C., and it is interesting to find a statue of the God in close proximity to the Stoa of Attalos.

Three Roman portrait heads present men of very diverse characters. Pl. XXXVIII, 1, illustrates a head of life size which dates from the Republican period.



The head is very realistic in its expression, with wrinkles in the forehead, with heavy, overhanging eyebrows, and with deep lines beneath the eyes and on either side of the nostrils. The man wears a skull cap with a rolled edge, and has the appearance of an ascetic priest of disagreeable character. It has been plausibly suggested that this is a portrait of a priest of Isis.

The second head, which is larger than life, is that of a Roman Emperor (Fig. 17). The man's face is clean-shaven and has a stern and forbidding expression with its tightly compressed lips. The hair is brushed down over the forehead and the head is crowned by a wreath which extends high above the brow. The features, which clearly present a portrait type, are characteristic of the portraits of the Julio-Claudian family. The head resembles most closely the portraits of the Emperor Claudius, and it may be safely identified as that Emperor (see Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, p. 180). It is an excellent example of Roman portraiture.

Another Imperial portrait is represented by the colossal head shown in Pl. XXXVIII, 2. This head is perfectly preserved except for a chip at the end of the nose. The man is bearded, and the hair of the beard is carefully articulated. The hair of the head is abundant and is carelessly arranged. The eyebrows are characteristically indicated, and the pupils of the eyes have been bored with a drill. The expression of the face is dignified and benign. The features resemble the portraits of the Emperor Commodus (see Hekler, *op. cit.* p. 270). The head is excellent in workmanship and is impressive in appearance.

The discoveries in the epigraphical field have been numerous and interesting. One of the most important inscriptions is on the left end of a base of which the right end had been found in 1855 and is now in the Epigraphical Museum. This inscription consists of two epigrams carved with letters of the early part of the fifth century B.C., and it has been plausibly conjectured that these are the epigrams written by Simonides and Aeschylus in honor of the Athenians who fell in the battle of Marathon. Another fragmentary metrical inscription in a similar style of lettering contains the name of Dareios and evidently refers also to the Persian wars.

An inscription of great historical interest is a decree honoring Kephisodoros, the distinguished leader of the Athenians in the latter part of the third century B.C. It was issued in the archonship of Charikles, and praises Kephisodoros for his services to the state over a period of thirty years, services which he performed without considering toil or danger. It refers to the embassies on which he went on behalf of the city, to the supplies and grain which he secured, to the alliances which he contracted. It mentions the autonomy of the city. It decrees that a bronze statue of Kephisodoros should be erected in the Agora. Apparently the services mentioned were performed in the years 230-200 B.C., and the archonship of Charikles must, therefore, be dated after 200. As Charikles has previously been placed somewhere in the years between 242 and 238, it is obvious that the new document will cause considerable revision of the accepted chronology of this period.

The total number of inscriptions is becoming very large, and important historical and chronological evidence is being derived from them. There are decrees issued in the archonship of Sonikos, 176-175 B.C., and of Mnesitheos, 155-154 B.C. Another decree records that the prytaneis honored themselves in the year after Mem-



mius Flaccus was archon, 180-181 A.D. The documents are varied in type, including honorary decrees of many kinds, private and public dedications, auction lists of property, lists of offerings to the Gods, etc. The Corpus of Attic Inscriptions will be greatly supplemented by the new discoveries, and a large addition will be made to the *Prosopographia Attica*.

Many vases which were found in a fragmentary state during the latter part of last



FIG. 18.—COMBAT OF HERAKLES AND AMAZONS ON A BLACK-FIGURED PANEL

season, and which were secured from the clearance of wells during the past summer, have been pieced together by the skilful technician on the staff. In conjunction with the current discoveries they cover a wide range of time beginning with the Protogeometric period, of which several good specimens were obtained.

The Attic black-figured group is

represented by an interesting panel which is from the leg of a stand or of a pyxis (Fig. 18). Within a meander border is represented the scene of the combat of Herakles with the Amazons. Herakles is advancing to the right with his spear poised. The shaft of the spear is curiously gnarled as if in reminiscence of Herakles's customary weapon, the club. The hero is enveloped in a large lion's skin which is spotted with red dots. In front of him one Amazon is prostrate on the ground, a second is engaged in combat with him, and two others are coming behind with spears raised. They are characterized by the white color used for the exposed parts of the body. All have large round shields painted a purple color, and all wear crested helmets. It is a vigorous scene, well executed and brilliantly painted.

One example of Attic red-figured pottery is selected to illustrate that class of ware (Fig. 19). This is a cylix which is conspicuously beautiful because of the striking color contrast between the glossy red used on the interior of the bowl and the brilliant black glaze of the inner medallion and of the outer rim. The result of this alternation of colors is so pleasing that it is extraordinary that this technique was not more freely employed. The figure on the central medallion is an athlete represented at the instant before he hurls the discus, which is clasped in his right hand.

The vase was found in the shaft cut in the rock of the Kolonos Agoraios, all the objects from which are dated prior to 480 B.C.

Pottery of the later red-figured style includes a small crater with a Dionysiac scene and an askos which is decorated with an eagle and a hare. Large deposits of Hellenistic ware have also been found, in which were some Megarian bowls, and succeeding Roman and Byzantine occupations have left the usual generous quantity of pottery which can be distributed through those periods.

Excavators become inured to the vast number of coins which accrue daily in the course of a campaign, but one could hardly fail to be appalled before the harvest of the present season, since the number has already exceeded the 10,000 mark. The physical task alone of cleaning and recording such large numbers is immense and requires a great deal of time. As far as results are available at present the largest groups are Athenian coins, both of the Greek and the Roman periods, Roman coins of the fourth century A.D., and Vandal coins of the fifth and sixth centuries. But the Byzantine epochs are, also, largely represented, and there is a scattering of coins from cities located in all parts of the Greek world.

Among the other classes of objects which are accumulating in the Agora collections, mention may be made of the many terracotta figurines and of the moulds from which the terracottas were made. Terracotta lamps have also appeared in the usual large numbers and in varieties extending in date throughout the Greek and Roman periods. By way of supplement to the set of ostraka which were previously found, a gratifying discovery is an ostrakon of Themistokles which differs from the other examples in that it bears his father's name, Neokles, instead of merely his demotic.

A group of objects which is proving to be of much interest is the collection of stamped amphora handles, of which nearly one thousand have now been catalogued. In some cases the complete amphoras, which are of the pointed shape, have been preserved. They bear stamps in most instances from Knidos, Rhodes and Thasos, and were used for importation of wine from those places. Some of the seals are of considerable artistic interest. One represents the statue of the Polyclitan Diadoumenos. On another handle of an amphora from Rhodes is a representation of the Sun God, Helios, who is standing in a chariot and is driving a team of prancing horses. This is an important seal because of the fact that it gives a contemporary copy of a famous bronze group made by the sculptor Lysippos for the Rhodians in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. The clearance of a well, which contained a deposit of the fifth century B.C., yielded amphoras of similar shape which were



FIG. 19.—ATTIC RED-FIGURED KYLIX

stamped with a seal representing a sphinx seated in front of an amphora. Since this design exactly resembles the coin type of the Island of Chios, it is clear that the importations were made from there and that the famous Chian wine had its votaries among the frequenters of the Athenian Agora.

ATHENS

T. LESLIE SHEAR

May 1, 1933

1933  
April-June

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS AND DISCUSSIONS<sup>1</sup>  
NOTES ON RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS  
SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN  
CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Editor*  
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

EGYPT

**New Discoveries at Tell el-Amarna.**—J. D. S. PENDLEBURY in the *Illustrated London News*, May 6, 1933, pp. 629-633, reports most interesting discoveries of the past season, the chief object of which was the clearance of the temple to the Sun. Work upon the sanctuary remains still to be done, but the complex of buildings adjoining is now cleared. The enclosure is seen to be a rectangle 800 yards long by 300 wide. A ramp led up to an entrance in the middle of the west wall. At the left was a pavilion with rows of columns on cement foundations. The path was flanked by sunken plaster receptacles for liquid offerings. Ahead lay the House of Rejoicing, comprising two pavilions, at the east end of each of which steps led into small open courts. The next division of the temple, the Finding of Aten, consisted of open

<sup>1</sup> The department of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books is conducted by Professor DAVID M. ROBINSON, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor SAMUEL E. BASSETT, Professor CARROLL N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Professor SIDNEY N. DEANE, Professor ROBERT E. DENGELER, Professor VLADIMIR J. FEWKES, Professor JOHN W. FLIGHT, Professor HAROLD N. FOWLER, Professor HENRY S. GEHMAN, Mr. E. BIOREN GETZE, Dr. MARIAN GUPTILL, Professor FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON, Professor ROLAND G. KENT, Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, Professor CLARENCE MANNING, Dr. GEORGE E. MYLONAS, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Professor KENNETH SCOTT, Professor JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor EPHRAIM E. SPEISER, Professor FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, Professor AXEL J. UPPVALL, Professor SHIRLEY H. WEBER, Professor FRED V. WINNETT, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after March 30, 1933.

For an explanation of the abbreviations see Vol. xxiv, 1, p. 124 and Vol. xxix, 1, pp. 115-116.

courts on each side of the causeway, which is flanked by rows of square bases to support offerings. The last court, surrounded by chapels, contained the high altar. Outside the building but within the temenos wall stood innumerable square brick piers, either for the offerings of those who could not afford tables within, or else, as Dr. Frankfort has suggested, the tables of every town and city in the empire. After Akhenaten died, his enemies razed the place and filled it with sand, covering the whole with a layer of cement. A few pieces of decoration have survived, notably sculptors' trial-pieces for portraits of Nefertiti, Akhenaten and Smenkhara.

By chance, in the south part of the town, a group of artists' houses was discovered and in them were some extraordinarily fine pieces, a steatite group of the Ape of Thoth and a scribe, an inlay relief portrait of Akhenaten, a quartzite head perhaps representing Nefertiti, and several other portrait heads.

**New Discoveries at Hermopolis.**—West of the ancient city of Hermopolis Dr. SAMY GABR of the Egyptian University is reported to have unearthed whole streets lined with buildings dating from the first century B.C. to the second A.D. These include a Greek temple with a nearly intact stone altar in front of it, a Greco-Egyptian temple, tombs and two-storeyed houses decorated with fairly well-preserved wall-paintings. Early lattice windows, stone-carvings, coins and inscriptions are among the small finds. *Illustrated London News*, March 4, 1933, pp. 310-311.

**Excavations at Ballana.**—During the past season this site, about seven miles south of Abu Simbel, has yielded additional discoveries to the Egyptian Government Archaeological Survey of Nubia under the direction of Mr. W. B. Emery. Fewer traces of purely Egyptian worship were in evidence, and there was much more indication of the infiltration of Christianity than had been

formerly observed. The identification of the people awaits further investigation, but it is supposed that they were a Nubian tribe flourishing here from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. Epigraphical traces are rare. A tomb disclosed the body of a man lying in a contracted position and bearing, still in place, a silver crown studded with jewels and decorated with busts of the goddess Isis, bracelets, anklets and earrings. Among the miscellaneous finds are bronze bowls and lamps of somewhat crude but interesting design. *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 25, 1933, pp. 264-5.

## ORIENTAL

### ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

**Discoveries at Tell Halaf.**—The *Illustrated London News*, April 22, 1933, pp. 562-3, reproduces photographs of some of the more interesting sculptures found by BARON VON OPPENHEIM at this site. Among these are two colossal basalt statues of a male and female divinity, fitted at the base for insertion into the back of a lion and lioness, and reliefs representing hunting scenes. These show the prey under or above the horse. Other reliefs show a spotted panther squatting on his hind-quarters, a lion, a demi-god with four wings, a goddess with six, and a warrior armed with a boomerang. An interesting socle carved with five male sphinxes is also reproduced. A further article in the issue for April 29, 1933, summarizes the historical significance of the site. Tell Halaf is thought to be the home of the broad-nosed "Hither Asiatics" or Subaraeans, whose culture is represented by the lowest layer, the "Painted Pottery" Period, beginning in 4000 B.C. The Hittite invaders of 2000 B.C. perhaps destroyed Tell Halaf, but in any case did not rebuild, but settled on the site of the present Fekheria. In the twelfth century the Aramaeans under their king Kapara rebuilt Tell Halaf. To him is due the *hilani*, a building with an open space before a great hall entered through a large gateway, of which remains were found. About 1100 B.C. Tiglath-pileser destroyed the city and rebuilt it. The Assyrian dominion lasted about 500 years, until the city became part of Cyrus' kingdom. In late Roman times there was a considerable settlement here. In the seventh century it was overrun by the Arabs, and again in the thirteenth by the Tartars, since which time it has remained a wilderness.

**Archaeology of the Ancient East.**—In *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vol. V, 1, ERNST HERZFELD begins a series of essays dealing with the archaeology of the Ancient East. The present contribution contains the introductory discussion on the subject of "History and Prehistory" (pp. 1-48). The author's views are frequently at variance with those that are generally held; his theories are often premised on the inner logic of the arguments rather than upon exhaustive documentation. The study is largely polemical and the author makes a point of "arguing only against those views that actually deserve it."

According to Herzfeld, the period of the Royal Tombs of Ur must not be placed earlier than the First Dynasty of Ur, as Woolley has suggested, but rather later, between the reigns of Eannatum of Lagash and of Sargon of Agade. The oldest historical period of Sumer is represented by the inscriptions of Mesilim of Kish, which antedate considerably the epigraphic material relating to Mesannipadda, the founder of the First Dynasty of Ur. Gudea of Lagash could not have ruled during the period of the Gutti domination; his reign must have preceded the invasion of the mountaineers.

The origin of the civilizations of Egypt, Lower Mesopotamia, and of the Hittite-Caspian region must have been roughly contemporary. Incidentally, the antiquity of the so-called "Hittite" hieroglyphs is much greater than scholars are willing to admit. There need be no doubt that the prototypes of the cuneiform writing were invented by the Sumerians. In fact, it is difficult to disprove the assumption that no other cultural element preceded the Sumerians in Mesopotamia. Their chief rivals were the Semites, who eventually cut the Sumerians off from their northern relatives. The significance of other ethnic elements is subject to doubt. As proof for his assertion concerning the priority of the Sumerians in the land, Herzfeld reminds the reader that the most important place-names, including the designations for the Tigris and the Euphrates, are Sumerian. The discussion is concluded with the presentation of a table of prehistoric periods in Babylonia and the neighboring regions; the historic age is said to begin about 3100 B.C.

**Ionians at Susa.**—The part taken by Ionians in the construction of the palace of Darius I at Susa, as revealed in the trilingual inscription first published in 1929, is discussed by SCHAEFER (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, 269-74). Once they are men-



tioned as workmen, perhaps masons. Again they helped transport cedar from Babylon to Susa; these would be the transferred Milesians. "Ornament for walls" or "relief-ornament" was brought from Ionia. W. ZSCHIEZSCHMANN (*ibid.*) suggests that this might be terracottas.

#### SYRIA AND PALESTINE

**Recent Excavations at Ras Shamra.**—During the fourth season of work in 1932 new discoveries of the greatest interest were made. Excavation was begun in the necropolis on a rock commanding the ancient port, the shore-line of which was 120 metres behind the modern one. The oldest tombs are simple trenches cut in the chalk, designed to hold but one body and its equipment, but occasionally the same grave was used for more than one burial; in this case, the other previously interred bodies were simply pushed aside. The pottery, of Cypriote or local origin, is dated in the fifteenth century. Mycenaean pottery is absent, though found in abundance in the two chamber-tombs discovered, both of which had unfortunately been pillaged. One of them had a window, outside which had been placed a large jar and several cups, an arrangement of offerings paralleled by the tombs already discovered. The other tomb, larger and more impressive, contained 28 skeletons and a mass of perishable objects, most of which were broken. Of these, among the most interesting are tall goblets decorated with polychrome female heads. Between the tombs was a sacred enclosure for a fertility cult, the ritual of which is known through one of the Ras Shamra tablets: over vases buried in the earth, two liquids were to be poured. On the acropolis of Ras Shamra itself were discovered three superimposed towns. Nearby were found chamber-tombs containing Mycenaean pottery with still more ancient burials at a lower level. Two interesting tablets have been deciphered, one a religious text, the other a warrant of arrest. South of the library was found a Mycenaean tomb; its location testifies to the invasions of Greek conquerors. Sculptural finds include two silver statuettes with gold necklaces and loin-cloths, both of the rude style of the thirteenth-twelfth centuries; a splendid relief of Baal bearing a club and stylized thunderbolt; statues of human beings and lions at the great temple, and a fine sphinx of greenstone with an inscription on the chest stating that it was the gift of Amenemhat III (about 1849-1801) to the temple of Ras

Shamra. CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER, in the *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 11, 1933, pp. 177-181; 212.

**Excavations in Palestine and Syria.**—It is believed that the stables of Solomon for the royal cavalry at Megiddo have been discovered.

The cartouche of Sheshonq I (c. 945-924), the biblical Shishak, has been found and proves the march of the king against Jerusalem (I Kings 14, 25-26). *Palestine Exploration Fund*, April, 1933.

**Nineveh.**—The British Museum excavations at the temple of Ishtar, 1930-31, are published in *Liverpool Annals*, xix, 3-4, 1932, pp. 55-116, pls. XLVI-XCII, by R. C. THOMPSON and R. W. HAMILTON. Little was learned of the temple itself, but a substructure of sun-dried brick, ca. 300 by 150 feet, was proved by inscriptions to belong to it, and its history can be traced by the aid of the inscriptions. The first known builder was Manishtushu, ca. 2450 B.C.; the second, Shamshi-Adad I, ca. 1840 B.C.; and there is evidence of six other reconstructions, the last by Ashur-bani-pal. The substructure is assigned, though not certainly, to Ashur-rish-ishi, ca. 1120 B.C. It is about 6 feet thick, but a central part is 19 feet thick. In it are several "cellars." Five vaulted tombs of sun-dried brick were also found; floor to keystone, 9 feet; the five tombs occupied an area of 60 by 50 feet. These apparently belong to the fourth millennium. The pottery falls into two groups: one Romano-Parthian; the second group, an interesting painted or incised ware, already known from various sites in northern Mesopotamia and assigned to the third millennium despite some indications of a much later date. Among the numerous inscriptions found on the site is a long one of Ashur-nazir-pal and one of Shamshi-Adad I which helps to establish him as the first important Assyrian ruler. A notable discovery is a life-size bronze head, perhaps a part of Ashur-bani-pal's booty. In some points it resembles the gold "helmet" of Mes-kalam-shar and may be contemporary with it (ca. 3000 B.C.).

**Prehistoric Finds near Bethlehem.**—In a cave seven miles east of Bethlehem there were found on the rock-wall carvings dating from the Natufian period (c. 12,000 B.C.); the pictures represent the elephant, wild pig, rhinoceros, and gazelle; the objects included scythe-heads and fishing and agricultural implements.

In the same cave remains were found of a flint industry dating from the Clactonian period (dated variously from 100,000 to 200,000 years B.C.) *Palestine Exploration Fund*, April, 1933.

**Jericho.**—JOHN GARSTANG publishes (*Liverpool Annals*, xix, 3-4, 1932, pp. 35-54, pls. XXVI-XLV) a second instalment of his report on the excavations at Jericho (cf. *A.J.A.* xxxv, 1931, pp. 98 ff.). It is devoted chiefly to graves. One tomb belongs to the Early Bronze Age. The description of Tomb A, Middle Bronze Age I, is completed; it received some 500 interments, 2000-1800 B.C. When each new burial was added, the old burials and offerings were swept aside. A score of M.B.A. II (1700-1500) tombs was found, the earlier of grotto type, the later, shallow graves. Three of the earlier sort are described in some detail. Tomb 9 contained a unique head-vase and nine scarabs of Hyksos and early XVIIIth dynasty types. Tomb 12, containing five Hyksos scarabs, was used during a short period, ca. 1650-1600. Tomb 22, with nine Hyksos scarabs, is contemporary with and later than 12. All the graves yielded pottery, including more than 1000 vases in good condition. The investigations thus far made indicate a marked break in ceramic development between M.B.A. I and M.B.A. II; before it no Egyptian connections are perceptible. From 1400 to 1200 the site was relatively deserted.

**Greek Coins at Beth-zur.**—Greek coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. found at Beth-zur testify to Greek influence in Palestine two centuries before Alexander the Great. *Palestine Exploration Fund*, January, 1933.

**Another leaden coffin from Palestine.**—A coffin of lead, since 1902 in the Museum of Archaeology in Leyden and said to have been found near Tyre, is to be classed with the three in Jerusalem which were published and discussed in *J.H.S.* for 1930 (see *A.J.A.* 1931, p. 326, where B.C. is a mistake for A.D.). The bottom and the lower edges of the Leyden example are missing, but the arched cover, clamped to the long sides, and the greater part of the four sides are preserved. Like the oldest of the Jerusalem coffins, this one has the long sides divided into panels by columns spirally fluted in the upper two-thirds of their height, the spaces being filled with reliefs of sphinxes, winged gorgon-heads in medallions, fluted canthari, dolphins, and groups of three lanceolate leaves. Similar groups of leaves laid horizontally between rope mouldings form a border above the panels and along both edges of the cover, while along the top of the cover is a decoration of vines, medallions and rosettes. One end of the chest represents the façade of a temple or tomb, with four spiral columns, fruit-laden vines

in the side openings, a Syrian archivolt over the middle one, and canthari as acroteria. This archivolt architecture was used in Syria and Asia Minor in the second century A.D. and later adopted in the West, where it is best known from the palace of Diocletian at Spalato. The other end shows a sort of wheel made of six rope-like spokes ending in double, six-leaved rosettes, with similar rosettes in the angles. The plates cast in moulds from which these coffins were made, evidently, from their identical technique and limited range of motives, come from a single factory, probably Roman, which operated in Syria for several centuries and served Pagans, Jews and Christians alike. J. P. J. BRANTS, *J.H.S.* lii, 1932, pt. 2, pp. 262-263; 2 pls.

#### PERSIA

**Islamic Architecture in Persia.**—In February there was exhibited in London a series of photographs of Islamic monuments in Persia made by Mr. ARTHUR UPHAM POPE. Some of the most interesting of these present the Tari(kh) Khaneh, Damghan, the earliest mosque in Islam, of the seventh or early eighth century, showing columns of purely Sassanian construction; the Masjid-i-Jami, Isfahan, about 1080, of Seljuk construction with affinities to later Gothic building in Europe; the Masjid-i-Jameh, Ardistan, of the eleventh-twelfth centuries, with the transverse arch forming a bridge between piers, which, like other features of brick building, appears in India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the superb Seljuk brick minaret at Saveh, dated in 1110. *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 4, 1933, pp. 154-5.

#### ASIA MINOR

**Excavations at Alisar Hüyük.**—H. H. VON DER OSTEN reports (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 208-230; 33 ills.), on the results of the excavations of 1931 and previous years. The last campaign was devoted chiefly to an area 50 by 60 metres in the south-eastern part of the site. The earliest settlement was neolithic, the hill probably surrounded by a swamp; ware coarse gray, with incised decoration. In the following Copper Period (Period I of earlier reports) the hill and terrace were thickly settled and fortified. The Early Bronze Period (Period III) is closely connected with the preceding by pottery, though it is now somewhat elaborately painted instead of merely polished, and by burial customs. The Early Hittite Period (Period II to ca. 1200 B.C.) brings a decided change. Three

parts of this period are distinguishable: to the first belong various streets and groups of buildings, to the second unbaked cuneiform tablets of the "Cappadocian" sort, to the third one large building, palace, or temple. In the Later Hittite Period the hill was strongly fortified, the settlement small; seals with Hittite hieroglyphs and Egyptian imports occur. Then followed the Phrygian settlement and several of less importance belonging to the last millennium B.C., a larger one of the Romano-Byzantine period, and small ones later. There is brief mention of several sites visited by the writer.

**Excavations at Has Hüyük.**—LOUIS DELAPORTE reports (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 230-233) on a small excavation at this Hittite site. The ceramic sequence was similar to that of other central and western Anatolian sites. Good black pottery was followed by coarser ware; then by polished red ware, in a stratum 10 m. thick, which in its later stages had painted geometric decoration. Toward 1000 B.C. the site was deserted.

**Antiquities from Angora.**—Various antiquities which came to light, chiefly in road-building in 1931, are described (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 233-261; 11 ills.) by DALMAN, SCHNEIDER, and BITTEL. The chief things are: a paved street with a colonnade, belonging to the time of Hadrian or later; a large building of uncertain purpose with an interesting vaulted drain (?), probably of the third century; a Christian cemetery with some inscriptions and a chapel of the early fourth century; a fragment of a sarcophagus closely resembling those found at Sidamara. The (unstratified) Roman pottery is also described, and a few objects and sites near Angora.

**Antissa.—Excavations.**—In *B.S.A.* xxxi, session 1930-1931, pp. 166-178 (2 pls.; 6 figs. Cf. p. 189), Miss W. LAMB reports on excavations at Antissa, now Ovriokastro, 16 km. southwest of Methymna, in Lesbos. The site may be divided into (1) the Castro, where are the Genoese and Turkish fortifications, (2) the Promontory between the Castro and the Acropolis, (3) the Acropolis, and (4) the Tombs. The report deals with the last three. On the Promontory fine walls belong to the period of the Lesbian Red Ware. There has evidently been a subsidence of the earth since that time. Mycenaean imports, Red Ware, and Grey Ware are found. The latter develops into archaic bucchero. Black glazed wares of the fourth century and later and mediaeval wares were found, and also other classes of

pottery in small quantities. The stratification is not always clear. On the Acropolis is a fine polygonal wall with a later continuation. No remains of any temple were found. The pottery belongs to the archaic period and to the fourth and third centuries B.C., the polygonal wall probably to the sixth century and its continuation to the fourth. The tombs contain stone sarcophagi, clay coffins, and jars. All sarcophagi and coffins but one had been opened. The pottery found in and about the tombs was of various types, in part East Greek, in part bucchero, in part Lesbian Red and Grey Wares. A Protocorinthian aryballos is of a type belonging to the first half of the seventh century. A small red jug and five Attic black-figured lekythoi belong to the late sixth and early fifth centuries. The vases illustrated are described in some detail.

**Thermi.—Continuation of Excavations.**—In *B.S.A.* xxxi, session 1930-1931, pp. 148-165 (5 pls.; 5 figs. Cf. also p. 188), Miss W. LAMB and J. K. BROCK give a report of excavations at Thermi in 1931. The Early Bronze Age Settlement shows five successive "towns." The entrance seems to have been at all times from the west. Towns I and II resemble each other closely, though in Town II some houses of the broader type associated with Crete occur beside other houses of the narrower Anatolian type. Town III covers the interlude between Troy I and II and introduces the *bothroi*, which may have been made for purposes of drainage. They disappear after Town IVa. Town IV (a and b) was larger than its predecessors and was fortified, though the whole course of the walls cannot be traced. This town belongs to the time of Troy II. In the central area of Town V is a single house with antae, which probably has some connection with the megaron at Troy II. The fortifications consisted of triple walls, and two gateways are fairly well preserved. Evidently some new hostile power threatened, the seat of which was doubtless in Anatolia. Outside the Early Bronze Age Settlement are traces of a later culture, including some walls and much "Lesbian Red Ware," with Grey Ware and Mycenaean importations. Some vases of the Lesbian Red and Grey Wares are made on a slow wheel, some on a quick wheel, and some by hand; the last are not confined to the earlier stages of development. Some shapes resemble those of Troy VI, some are survivals from the Early Bronze Age, but most are hard to parallel. The Grey Ware occurs more

frequently at Antissa than at Thermi. Two phases (A and B) are distinguished. Copies of Mycenaean vases are peculiar to phase B. Imported Mycenaean vases also occur. Phase B can be dated about 1375 to about 1200 B.C., but phase A cannot be dated until more is known about Troy and Western Anatolia. The similarity in fabric of these vases and those of the Middle Bronze Age in Central Anatolia is so striking as to make it probable that the settlers came from somewhere in or near the Hittite region; but Lesbos was in touch with Troy and Crete and later with Mycenae. Small finds of copper and terracotta are also described.

**Scopas at Chryse.**—Three ancient writers cited by Overbeck on the temple of Apollo Smintheus at Chryse in the Troad, speak of the cult statue as a xoanon, a word especially suited to the stiff, archaic figure seen on coins of the neighboring Alexandria Troas. Two of them mention the image of a mouse which accompanies the god and accounts for his specific name, and give Scopas as the artist, in one case (Strabo), of the work, *ῥογᾶ*, in the other (Eustathius), of the work, *ῥογόν*. It is difficult to believe either that Scopas made the un-Scopadic statue or that he made only the mouse, but it is possible that he made the temple itself, for he was an architect as well as a sculptor, and also the mouse, as an important adjunct to an ancient xoanon or a reproduction of an ancient xoanon. V. R. GRACE, *J.H.S.* lii, 1932, pt. 2, pp. 228-232; 6 figs.

**A Water-Cistern at Salamis, Cyprus.**—JOAN DU PLAT TAYLOR publishes in the *Antiquaries Journal*, April, 1933, pp. 97-108, the results of an excavation of a cistern containing Byzantine paintings and inscriptions. Above ground is a complex of walls, in which only two rooms have been cleared as yet. The remains consist of two cisterns joined by a short passageway, and each reached by a shaft from above. The paintings are all in the first cistern except for three crosses in the passageway. Above the doorway leading to the passage are inscriptions calling on Constantine for help, mentioning Barnabas the Apostle and the Governor Epiphanius, and quoting scriptural passages on the subject of water. On the wall opposite is a head of Christ Pantokrator flanked by aquatic scenes, and three other inscriptions, in one of which Nicodemus is mentioned. In the layer of earth on silt which covered the floor, the bones of two small ponies and a foal were found, as well as a number of small

bronze, terracotta, and glass objects and some coins. The history is reconstructed as follows: The first cistern was probably built in the first century A.D. and later fell into disuse either after the Jewish sack in the next century or after the earthquake in 345. When Constantius II founded the new city of Constantia here in 350, the need for water increased. Perhaps Nicodemus, mentioned in an inscription, built a small house over the cistern in the fifth or sixth century, for the second building is dated by coins to the late sixth. Probably the cistern was abandoned after Moawiyeh I of Damascus destroyed Constantia in 647, and it is probably to his followers that several large holes in the cisterns are due.

**Physicians of Kos.**—The Asklepieion of Kos was founded in the fourth century B.C. by the disciples of Hippokrates. In its treatment of the sick, the scientific attitude was always predominant; at Epidauros, the religious attitude. The Koan medical service was highly organized. The prestige of these physicians was maintained till the second century after Christ, when they gave way to the Pergamenes. R. HERZOG in *Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 274-276.

## GREECE

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**Archaeology in Greece, 1931-1932.**—An illustrated summary of work and discoveries in Greece and the Greek islands, based in part on that of G. Karo (see *A.J.A.* 1932, pt. 1, pp. 126 ff.), by H. G. G. PAYNE, is published in *J.H.S.* lii, 1932, pt. 2, pp. 235-255; 17 figs.

**Funerary and Domestic Cults in Minoan Crete.**—In *B.C.H.* lvi, 1932, pp. 60-88 (5 figs.; pls. III-VII), PIERRE DEMARGNE publishes an altar and two offering tables from the very important M.M. I cemetery at Mallia. As is known to students, this cemetery is of a new type, composed of tomb-chambers grouped together inside a common wall. These monuments would appear to prove the existence of a cult in this necropolis. The two tables of offerings resemble one found in the palace of Mallia in 1926, and published as such by Chapouthier (*B.C.H.* lii, 1928, p. 292 f.). The contention of Sir Arthur Evans that this object was a gaming table is to be absolutely rejected. The one from the necropolis, published as Fig. 1 of this article, was discovered in September, 1930, and although not actually found in the necropolis, the evidence points strongly to its



having belonged there. It contains two concentric circles of cup-like depressions; the outer ring (much damaged by erosion) of 30 to 36, the inner of 13. In the centre is a very large, deep cavity, while one of the depressions of the outer ring is also very large, and deeper than the others. The smaller cups were for first fruits, and the cult in question was probably that of the great Mother Goddess of the Minoans. A second table, similar to this, was found *in situ* in the cemetery, in a closed chamber. This table was stuccoed over, and the stucco still exists. It was of circular form, with an oval central cavity, of considerable depth and diameter. The stucco shows evidences of having been discolored by fire, showing that in all probability a lamp was kept burning in the central cavity, in honor of the dead. In the chamber with this table was a bench, either to hold cult accessories, or to serve as a seat for worshippers. Still more interesting is the third monument to be published, the existence of which was known as far back as 1921, and which surely belongs in M.M. I. It was completely uncovered in 1930, and enclosed in a chamber, corresponding to that in which it was originally situated, and a careful study of it was made, in 1931. It was proved that in antiquity it was hollow; the outside was stuccoed, and around the circular core were dentellated gradations in stucco, making the outside plan square. The interior diameter was 1.08 m., the outside dimensions ca. 1.12 m. square. It is naturally impossible to determine its original height. Owing to its fragile nature, it cannot be an architectural member, although it resembles in plan a column base from Hagia Triada. By parallel examples from Palaikastro and Mycenae, it is decided that this object is an altar. Around it, by the west wall, and the outer necropolis wall, the pavement was stuccoed, and there is evidence to prove that this stucco was frequently renewed. Beside the stucco pavement were a number of cups for offerings, similar to those on the tables. It was here that many of the rites for the dead were performed, and this is the earliest example of such a cult so far discovered. The altar was hollow to receive liquid libations, while the cups were for solid offerings, such as first fruits, as suggested by the combination of both in the paintings on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada. The writer believes that the rites celebrated in the necropolis are related to the cult of the Earth Mother, whose empire is thus extended to the dead, and that further proof of

this is attested by Sir Arthur Evans' discovery, in 1931 of the funerary temple of the priest-kings at Knossos.

The second part of the article (pp. 76-88) deals with the discoveries, in the region of private houses, surrounding the palace. Soundings were made in 1931, northwest of the palace, near the excavations of 1924 and 1925. The Minoan remains are close to the surface. This region was first inhabited in M.M. I, but remained occupied up to M.M. III and L.M. I. In two of the houses a room with distinct traces of a stuccoed floor was found, having in each case in the centre, a circular disc of brick, discolored by fire, with a small depression in the centre. The discs rest on a very hard base, and are raised some 10 cm. above the floor. It is believed that they are in effect the hearths of the houses in question, and parallels from Mycenae (of much later date, of course) are cited; also from Troy and Phylakopi, but especially the discoveries of Blegen at Korakou, where hearths dating in the Minyan period (M.H.) were found, and to Miss Goldman's E.H. and M.H. finds at Eutresis, where circular hearths of clay or stone, similar to those at Mallia, have been uncovered. Hearths of the E.H. period from Zygouries are also cited. In Thessaly, also, Tsountas has found hearths going back to Neolithic times (corresponding to the E.M. period). In Crete itself Sir Arthur Evans has found fixed hearths in late Neolithic houses at Knossos, and this neolithic culture passes easily into E.M. I; the fixed hearth may have continued till M.M. III, when it disappeared in Crete. The movable hearth first seems to appear in M.M. I. A possible fixed hearth of M.M. Ia has been recently (1930) discovered at Knossos. The appearance, therefore, of the fixed hearth at Mallia is not as surprising as might have been believed.

#### Knossos.—Mortuary Chamber and Sanctuary.

—In *B.S.A.* xxxi, session 1930-1931, pp. 191-192, is a brief report by SIR ARTHUR EVANS on the discovery and excavation of a tomb chamber with a mortuary sanctuary and the residence of the priestly warden. See *A.J.A.* xxxv, 1931, pp. 342-343.

**Stalactites.**—In the *Eph. Arch.* 1930, pp. 160-168, Mr. NICOLAOS E. PLATON draws attention to and describes 12 pieces of stalactites roughly anthropomorphic in shape, found with other cult objects in Minoan sites and sanctuaries. These stalactites were taken from sacred caves where stalactite worship, as proved by Dr. Marinatos,



was common. It is probable that the pillar worship, as suggested by Sir Arthur Evans, was derived from stalactite worship and that the latter followed the worship of stalactite forms. Later stalactites outside of their natural surroundings were considered sacred and are found in sanctuaries. Stalactites are represented on a seal impression from Knossos and on another from Hagia Triada.

**The Sea in Minoan Times.**—In the *Eph. Arch.* 1930, pp. 108–126, Dr. SPYRIDON N. MARINATOS points out the importance of the sea in Minoan times for artistic and religious inspiration which accounts for the many marine designs and for the association of the Minoan Goddess with marine life, and then he proceeds to describe the various ways in which the sea was pictured. Finally he illustrates the steps which led to the stylization of marine and sea designs. In carving, sea and water in general were usually represented by thin wavy parallel lines, but in painting by means of a net pattern, or of spirals, or even of spray. Often it was omitted, especially in monumental wall paintings and also in Early Minoan Seals. Sea representations appear in E.M. ivory seals, become common in the M.M. period, and last to the end of the Minoan-Mycenaean Age.

**Early Inhabitants of Greece.**—In the *Ephe-meris Archaeologike*, 1930, pp. 1–29, Dr. GEORGE E. MYLONAS discusses the different waves of people which invaded Greece in prehistoric times on the basis of the cultures revealed thus far by excavations. The first two waves were responsible for the neolithic culture in Thessaly and the rest of the mainland and probably started from the S.E. corner of Russia. The third introduced Bronze into the mainland of Greece in E.H. times and belonged to the same homophyly with the inhabitants of Crete and the Cyclades. The fourth brought from the north the Minyan culture and formed the first group of the Indo-European tribes which pushed their way into Greece. In this he follows Blegen's conclusions, but he further identifies the Minyan invaders with the Ionians. He does not believe that the Minyan culture originated in Troy. The Aeolians and Achaeans followed, and they created the Mycenaean Empire. From the assimilation of these different tribes evolved the historic inhabitants of Greece.

**Excavations in the Kerameikos.**—A condensed account of the excavations carried on in the Kerameikos in the spring of 1932 is given by KÜBLER, EILMANN, and KRAIKER (*Arch. Anz.*,

1932, pp. 183–208; 13 ills.). The vicinity of the church of Agia Trias, removed in 1931, was investigated. No traces of an earlier church were found; there were a few burials, not antique and devoid of interest, immediately below the church, and a fragment of a list of names of the Argives who fell at Tanagra in 458 and were buried in the Kerameikos. At deeper levels and near by there were burials ranging from late antiquity back to early Geometric times. Several inscribed stelae and early vases were found. The stratification and chronological indications are described in considerable detail.

East of the precinct of the Messenians, the "Querweg" of the fourth century was investigated. In making the way some burials were disturbed; remains and offerings from them were brought together and buried in a hole dug for the purpose. Farther east were many Hellenistic graves, mostly mere holes covered with bricks or the like; and fifth century burials of children in amphoras.

Twenty-five graves were found in an area bounded by the central aisle of the Roman Pompeion, the Dipylon wall, the northwest rooms of the Greek Pompeion and the southeast part of its court. Altogether 65 graves have now been found in this region. They belong to early post-Mycenaean times, as the vases of "Salamis" and Protogeometric types show, and indicate an unbroken transition from late Mycenaean to Geometric. Particularly interesting is a small group of cremation burials with Protogeometric pottery and bronzes of Mycenaean types.

**Pharsalos.—Archaeological Researches.**—Continuing his Thessalian Studies (in *B.C.H.* lvi, 1932, pp. 89–191; 52 figs.; pls. VIII–X; see also *ibid.*, lii, 1928, pp. 9–44, 444–465; liii, 1929, pp. 101–116; liv, 1930, pp. 367–375; and lv, 1931, *Chronique*, pp. 492–493), Y. BÉQUIGNON describes at great length excavations made by him to establish the position of the town of Palaio-pharsalos. His previous views had been challenged by Stählin (*Bayer. Blätter f. d. Gymnasial-schule*, lxvii, 1931, pp. 1–17) and differed from those of Heuzey; consequently he wished to dig at the points suggested by them. Stählin's opinion was that this place was to be found on the hill called Palaiokastros-Derengli, and he suggested that as he was unable to make the excavation himself, he would willingly waive whatever claim he might have in Béquignon's favor. Work was therefore undertaken there in the spring of 1931 (May 18–31). The topography of the place is

given, with a map of the site. Stählin had noticed remains above the surface, but these Béquignon could not locate. A wall was, however, found at the western part of the hill, made of small stones, cemented together by sand. Parts of it had been taken in the past for building materials. On the west it follows the contour of the hill. It has suffered from the action of spring torrents flowing down from the summit of the hill. This wall completely encircled the hill, and inside it was a settlement, quite easily unearthed, being only about 0.40 m. below the present surface. The walls of this settlement are of a type common in Thessaly. Evidences of a street were also found, but no entire house plan. It was in looking for such a plan that, on May 25, the fragments of a black-figured *deinos*, signed by the painter Sophilos (see *B.C.H.* lv, 1931, pl. XIX) were found. Many tombs were opened; they were below the house levels, and in several cases contained vases and sherds. The pottery belonged in four periods; black glazed ware and ordinary red ware on the upper level, sub-Mycenaean and Geometric a little below, then Minyan, and, lowest of all, hand-made ware, similar to sherds found by Blegen at Korakou and Zygouries, and by Heurtley in Macedonia, and belonging in the Early Helladic period. All the finds are illustrated by photographs (except the Sophilos vase, for which see reference above), each specimen being described, and parallels from other sites being given. It is apparent that this site was inhabited from the Early Helladic period to the end of the Middle Helladic; habitation was then resumed in L.H. III, and continued till the end of the sixth century B.C. No later material was found, and habitation was never resumed from then till the present day. Béquignon, however, is now inclined to agree with Stählin in placing the site of Palaio-pharsalos here, on the basis of the Sophilos vase, explaining its abandonment by the fact of the growing importance of the new Pharsalos, attracting the inhabitants away from their old home.

The second part of the article (pp. 119-120) publishes a terracotta figurine from the as yet unexcavated site of Orman Magoula, of a type frequently found in Thessaly, and belonging in the neolithic period. The third part (pp. 121-122) discusses the course of the Enipeus River, verifying observations previously made. The fourth and longest part, which occupies the rest of the article (pp. 122-191), takes up excavations

conducted at Ktouri, 11½ km. N.W. of Pharsalos, from May 31 to June 10, 1931. The importance of this site had been discussed already by Béquignon in *B.C.H.* lii, 1928, p. 25 f. A topographical description of the acropolis of Ktouri is given. It is feared that many ancient walls have been destroyed to provide building materials for nearby villages. It is on a height commanding the Pharsalian plain, but has no water supply, other than springs in a marshy district to the west. But it was an important strategic point, easily defended, and this did not escape the attention of the ancients, for well-preserved remains of two fortress walls at different levels exist. The lower one is of large polygonal masonry—the base is 0.65 m. below the present level, and rests on bed rock. This lower wall was pierced with several gates, the most important of which seems to be the north. Between this wall and the second enceinte, or *phourion*, was a region apparently uninhabited in antiquity. The *phourion* was at the top of the hill, and a description and plan are given. It was built of two parallel walls of smaller stones, with the interior space filled with rubble, and was coarsely but solidly built. Five towers of a primitive type were placed at different points along the wall. The finds within the *phourion* were insignificant, the most interesting being four tiles with the inscription Εὐκπαρίδου, dating probably in the third century. No house or cistern remains were found, but fragments of pithoi for holding water, weights, a spear head, and some sherds of sub-Mycenaean and undecorated wares were found. It is apparent that no permanent habitations existed within the acropolis, which was used as a point of refuge in times of invasion and war. Therefore the city was below the hill. Trenches were dug in the region of the swamps to the west (now abandoned and unhealthy) at a *magoula*, between the springs and a deserted mill of modern construction, where remains of walls existed, and at a point to the north, where the ground plan of a building was unearthed, yielding sherds from Minyan to Protogeometric. Other remains, however, suggest that it was a temple of the archaic period, which had been completely destroyed and pillaged. A list of the finds is given, including six circular terracotta plaques, similar to those found at Delphi and Olynthos, weights, stone objects, etc. West of the *magoula* is a large plain; stone blocks and sherds on the surface suggested cutting trial trenches, one of which yielded interesting re-

sults,—a tomb, with a pithos and a larnax, within which were a vase and fragments of others, showing that a possible necropolis had been discovered. The pottery fragments found in these trenches and the *magoula* show continuous habitation into the archaic period, which is further attested by the discovery of a bronze statuette. The earliest pottery is Minyan, of which a few isolated and insignificant sherds were found; but there is an abundance of sub-Mycenaean ware, of which, however, only one complete vase can be put together, probably of a local ware. The spiral is the motive most frequently employed, and the sherds with this design are photographed and listed. Vases with banded design also prevail—these examples are similarly treated, and others with simple linear designs. There are also undecorated wares, similar to vases of the end of L.H. III, found at Mycenae, Korakou, and Zygouries. Ktouri is much richer in sub-Mycenaean than most Thessalian sites. Protogeometric sherds were also found, similar to finds elsewhere in Thessaly and Macedonia, and at Vrokastro in Crete, but here, as elsewhere, it seems to be of local manufacture. Finally, west of the *magoula*, a bronze statuette of a warrior (pl. X) was found by a Greek, who brought it to Béquignon. The preservation is good. A detailed study of the statuette shows that it belongs in the beginning of the sixth century, as it observes the law of frontality, and all the characteristics of early archaic sculpture. There is a strong resemblance to similar work in the Peloponnese, suggesting that this statuette is an importation. Returning from the *magoula* to the acropolis, the ancient cemetery is now in the middle of the marsh, making excavation impossible, but at the N.W. border of the acropolis the principal spring of Ktouri is to be found. Today barely accessible, it was in antiquity reached by a paved causeway. At the north, near the present chapel of Hagios Ioannis, was another spring, which the present inhabitants believe to have miraculous properties. Therefore Béquignon dug trenches near this spring, thinking it might be the survival of an ancient cult. Ancient pavements and a peribolos wall were found, but the pottery fragments were principally Byzantine; it is believed, however, that further investigation would reveal Greek remains. The Byzantine sherds would date from the tenth to the fourteenth century. These excavations at Ktouri, therefore, show continuous occupation from L.H. III into the Byzantine period, and that

the acropolis, never inhabited, remained a place of refuge. No inscriptions were found in this campaign, but Heuzey found one in Latin, and a funerary inscription in Greek, of the Roman period, exists in the nearby village of Simikli. Béquignon follows Stählin and others in believing Ktouri to be identified with Euhydrión, destroyed in 198, and mentioned only by Livy. The numerous springs in the district suggest the identification, as well as the continuous occupation. This short campaign has, therefore, succeeded in placing Palaiofarsalos and Euhydrión in their correct situations.

**Excavations at Thasos, 1925, 1931.**—Y. BÉQUIGNON and P. DEVAMBEZ describe in *B.C.H.* lvi, 1932, pp. 232–386 (28 figs.; pls. XI–XVIII) a Roman quarter, the principal building of which was the Odeion, which is situated in the immediate neighborhood of the modern village, making complete excavation impossible. The buildings unearthed all appear to belong in the same period,—the second century A.D., about the time of the reign of Hadrian. First, a street is described, going from N.E. to S.W., through the centre of the quarter, and connecting it with the Prytaneum and Agora. It was obviously one of the principal arteries of the city, and is well paved with large blocks of local marble of varying size and shape. On each side was a narrow sidewalk. An exedra is next described, first excavated in 1925, which was in ruins when first found, but has now been rebuilt out of the original blocks. It has an Ionic entablature with a frieze design of garlands, boukrania, and rosettes, and a dentelated cornice. On the top is a series of dowel-holes for statues, the precise number of which it is not possible to determine. In the interior is a dedicatory inscription in Greek, showing that a statue was set up here by the city to one Komis, daughter of Leodamas; another inscription shows that this Komis dedicated a statue to her husband; and lastly we have the artist's signature, Limendas. None of these names except that of the sculptor is new. Although the excavators were first tempted to date this honorific monument in Hellenistic times, it cannot be earlier than the period of Hadrian. The most important building in the district is the Odeion, which is very poorly preserved, exposed to autumn and spring torrents, as it lies at the foot of the slopes of the Acropolis. The original skene has either completely disappeared, or was never built. The Odeion was never finished, but was put into use before com-

pletion, and shows evidences of rebuilding at some subsequent period. The seats were divided into six sections by stairways at regular intervals, the two on the ends bordering on the walls of the parodoi, which were not covered. Evidence also shows that the building was erected in haste. Even the stairways were for the most part unfinished; possibly only two of them were ever completed. The parodos walls are the best preserved part of the building. The work, although at first glance fairly good, shows signs of carelessness and faulty construction, and many blocks were reused from other buildings. The spectators' seats were supported by earth for the lower rows, by pillars of masonry for the upper, seven of which were laid bare; they are thick and of rubble held together with mortar, and were connected together by other walls forming a semicircle, under the *koilon*. The pillars were naturally higher and larger at the centre. The higher rows were also supported by a vaulted gallery, as is customary in Roman theaters. There were parodos entrances at north and south, and interior stair-wells, the stairs of which have disappeared, and were doubtless of wood. The nearest parallel is the Odeion at Gortyn. No inscriptions which could set a date were found in this building, but architectural evidence places it in the second century A.D. We cannot determine the reasons why it was never finished. At a later time the southern stair-well was entirely filled in with heavy masonry, as was the southern parodos entrance, and four blocks from other buildings, of different patterns, were brought together to form a skene. Several graffiti were found at different parts of the Odeion. Further soundings prove that it was built on the ruins of a building of the archaic period. Next to be described is a rectangular portico unearthed near the Odeion, on the other side of the street; it was to be expected from Vitruvius (IX, 1) that such a building, to afford a refuge for spectators in bad weather, would be found in its vicinity. It consists of a central court, surrounded by four porticoes to form a rectangle. The court is well preserved and is paved by one hundred slabs of local marble, of equal size and shape, very regularly laid in ten rows of ten each; a well at the east end served to drain off water when it rained. The interior colonnade rested on a low stylobate, and carried seven columns on the sides, and five on the ends. Only on the east stylobate do the bases of columns exist; but the anathyroses for the bases of the

others are plainly visible, and it is possible that the columns were never set up. On the west end this anathyrosis has been made for Doric columns, but elsewhere the order was Ionic or Corinthian. There was an outer colonnade on the east where the building runs along the street, and on the west, exactly corresponding to the inner; but apparently there were no columns on the north or south sides. These walls end in engaged pilasters at the west. The south wall was pierced by a door near the eastern end. Immediately west of this portico is a rectangular building, built at a good period, but subsequently rebuilt. It is entered by four doors, two on the north opening into different rooms, one on the east and one on the west. It had once been destroyed, and the rebuilding took place afterwards. In the interior it is divided into two parts, north and south. In the south part is a construction resembling an altar. It is impossible to determine the purpose of this building, the earlier part of which is probably pre-Roman. At the north of the area is a ruined foundation which may be another portico, extending N.E. to S.W., and may have had shops behind it, but the evidence is not sufficient to make any definite statement. Several houses were found; across the street from the rectangular portico was a large house, pierced on the street by six doors. This house was built largely of reused materials of poor quality. The doors may have been of shops, and the evidence shows that the builder wished to convey an impression of luxury. One other Roman house is described, the court of which was excavated. Some pieces of sculpture were found in this Roman quarter, which have either already been noted in the *Chronique des Fouilles* of the B.C.H. as they were found, or will subsequently be separately published. None of them can be dated earlier than the end of the first century A.D. The article ends with the publication of a dedicatory base in Greek in honor of Hadrian and Sabina, found near the Odeion, in which the emperor is described as *κτίστης* or builder, showing that it was due to him that much of this quarter was built.

**The Palace of Kadmos.**—In the *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1930, pp. 29-58, Professor ANT. D. KERAMOPOULLOS briefly describes the excavations of the Palace of Kadmos discovered by him in 1906 on the Acropolis of Thebes, of which he gives a ground plan. The most important remains date from the L.H. III times, but a few remains of an earlier palace built in L.H. II are



also preserved. The later structure was destroyed by fire caused by lightning. The spot was considered sacred in the classical period and was not built over even in Byzantine times. Below the L.H. level an earlier filling was disclosed from which M.H. Minyan sherds and especially some E.H. ware, fully described now, were obtained. The corridors were found full of new vases among which were the well-known inscribed stirrup vases. In the south part of the palace he discovered a quantity of unworked precious stones—blocks of agate, rock crystal, onyx, etc. These objects are now fully described and illustrated and seem to have formed commercial commodities obtained by the king through exchange; vases being the articles manufactured at Thebes and given for the stones. This conclusion leads to an interesting discussion of the commercial activities of the rulers of the prehistoric city-states.

**Haliartos.—Excavations on the Acropolis.**—In *B.S.A.* xxxi, session 1930–1931, pp. 189–191, is a brief report by R. P. AUSTIN of excavations at Haliartos in 1931. The eastern end of the temple is entirely destroyed, but the building was about 18 m. long. Foundations of a building to the north of the temple, about 16 m. long and 2 m. wide, built of *poros* blocks, may be what remains of an earlier temple. A votive deposit found outside the temenos contained a mass of pottery, chiefly black glaze, including sherds with incised inscriptions. Among these was a dedication to Athena which indicates that the temple was hers. Pausanias mentions no temple of Athena, and probably this was one of those ruined temples which he could not identify. The long rectangular building to the south of the temple, scarcely more than outlined in the excavation of 1928, was apparently a hall, 21 m. in length, with a row of columns in the middle. It may have been a storehouse. It had two doorways in the east side. Outside a paved passage led into the precinct, giving access to the temple and also to the long building. The small finds include pottery, chiefly of the period from the sixth to the fourth century; fragments of two proxeny decrees; some coins, terracottas, bronze rings, and an excellent painted clay antefix.

**The Tholos Tombs of Marmariæ.**—In *B.S.A.* xxxi, session 1930–1931, pp. 1–55 (11 pls.; 20 figs.), W. A. HEURTLEY and T. C. SKEAT describe and discuss six tholos tombs at Marmariæ, about 20 km. from Larisa in Thessaly. The

tombs were explored by Dr. Leonardos in 1896 and Professor Tsountas in 1898. The present writers visited them in 1931. Their description of the tombs and their contents is based upon the earlier records and personal examination. The tombs are approximately circular and have a level *dromos*, the inner end of which is covered with slabs. The largest tholos is 5.75 m. long and 5.4 m. wide, the smallest is 2.3 m. in diameter. A Mycenaean tomb described by Tsountas has entirely collapsed. In the tombs were found many terracotta vases and fragments, also objects of metal and some of stone, glass, and clay. These are described in detail with abundant illustrations. The vases are hand-made local ware and Protogeometric. A Mycenaean jug is probably of local manufacture. The Protogeometric vases show survivals of the earlier local *motifs*. The affiliations of the pottery and other objects (which include the spectacle fibula) are with Macedonia and Thessaly, but the date seems to make it impossible to connect them with the coming of the Dorians; for careful examination of them shows that they are contemporary with the Protogeometric vases from Knossos and are to be dated about 1000–800 B.C.

**Late Helladic III Pottery.**—R. W. HUTCHINSON briefly considers (*Liverpool Annals*, xix, 3–4, 1932, pp. 117–120) the differing views of Wace and Forsdyke on the classification of Late Helladic III pottery, and tentatively proposes this scheme: L.H. IIIa, 1400–1300 (Amarna, Gurob, most of Ialysos and Enkomi, Ramp House, perhaps first three strata at Lion Gate); L.H. IIIb, 1300–1200 (Zygouries, strata four to seven at Lion Gate); L.H. IIIc, 1200–1100 (late pottery from Phylakopi and Paros, Granary, late vases from Tomb I at Asine).

**The Heroon at Alyzia.**—In the *Eph. Arch.* 1930, pp. 141–159, Professor K. A. RHOMAIOS gives a full description of the heroön excavated by him in 1919–1922 at Alyzia. It was built in the form of an altar towards the end of the second century A.D. and with materials taken from the temple of Herakles, which was probably located near by. It enclosed a marble sarcophagus, and it stood on an almost square foundation and on four steps, the second of which ended at the four corners in the form of a griffin. The walls of the monument, built of regular ashlar masonry, were crowned with an Ionic frieze over which rose a row of low orthostatae bearing at the corners akroteria. The latter are of an interesting and



elaborate type composed of an acanthus and anthemium design in the center of which is represented an eagle holding a wreath in its beak, or an eagle with a snake on his wing. No traces of a door were found, and it is uncertain how later interments were effected. It is also unknown to whom this monument belonged.

**Roxana and Alexander IV in Epirus.**—The way in which reputable historians can promulgate a false tradition by following the initial blunder of one of their number is illustrated by the general assumption that Roxana and her son Alexander were with Olympias in Epirus during the years between 323 and 317. This belief apparently rests only on the misinterpretation of a passage in Diodorus (19, 11, 2) where Polyperchon is said to be endeavoring to restore Olympias and her grandson to the throne of Macedonia (*κατ'ἔγεν' Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν*) as meaning that Polyperchon brought Roxana, Olympias, and Alexander back from Epirus to Macedonia. The word *βασιλεία* is consistently used by Diodorus and others to mean, not the country ruled over, but the royal power, and it is so used by him (18, 2, 2) of an attempt to place on the throne of Macedonia the bastard Herakles, who had never been in that country. There is every reason to suppose that Polyperchon had kept the little king in his own hands, although he more than once invited Olympias to come to Macedonia and assume the guardianship herself. G. H. MACURDY, *J.H.S.* lii, 1932, pt. 2, pp. 256-261.

**Delphi and the Amphictyony after the Aetolian War.**—In *B.C.H.* lvi, 1932, pp. 1-36, P. ROUSSEL studies the inscriptions which show the reaction on Delphi of the war between the Romans and the Aetolians, allied to Antiochus III. The recent studies of Holleaux on the Consul Fulvius and the siege of Same (*ibid.*, liv, 1930, pp. 1-41, and lv, 1931, pp. 1-10) show that these inscriptions have previously been incorrectly interpreted and incompletely published. Roussel comments on and republishes several inscriptions previously published by Holleaux, Pomtow and others, particularly a list of properties and houses given to Apollo and to the city, to be found in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, nos. 609, 610. A commentary is given. The letter preceding the list is from the consul M. Acilius, on whose dedicatory base it is found. It was undoubtedly he who made the donations mentioned above. Before 191 the Aetolians governed Delphi by direct control of the Amphictyony; on their defeat the

Delphians seemed to rid themselves of this control, and sought the protection of Rome, through Acilius. His donation to the god was through the confiscation of the goods of a certain number of aliens living within the boundaries of Delphi, who were a disturbing element, and came mostly from adjoining territories. Some of these persons held high positions in the Aetolian League. Acilius seems also to have attempted to delimit the boundaries of Delphi, for an inscription of the time of Trajan refers to his decisions in this matter. There was also, in 119 B.C., a further delimitation of the territory, and it is to this that Pomtow thinks the inscription of the time of Trajan refers. Roussel believes that the decision of 190 was still in operation in 119. Acilius increased the sacred territory with the consent of the Roman Senate. He also promised that if the Thessalians or others should send an embassy, he would do his utmost to uphold the ancestral rights of the Delphians, and safeguard the autonomy of the city and sanctuary. To enforce this, the Senate passed a *senatus-consultum* in 189, after the Delphians had sent ambassadors to Rome to urge such action. After the defeat of the Aetolians, the Thessalians attempted, by securing control of the Amphictyony, to rule over the sanctuary, and this was not in the interest either of Delphi or of Rome. Consequently an embassy of three Delphians went to Rome to plead their cause against the Thessalians, and in the end of April, 189, received from the Senate a decision wholly in their favor, and in defiance of the Amphictyons, who were deprived of all authority at Delphi. For questions of disputed boundaries, the Senate recommended recourse to umpires from outside; thus, in 180, we hear of nine Rhodians and one Athenian at Delphi to settle such a case. On their return to Greece in 189 these ambassadors were assassinated, and a second embassy was sent that autumn to demand satisfaction, which was obtained. But Delphi was still under the menace of the Aetolian League, which, having been obliged to quit the area, bore her a distinct enmity. This, however, died down in the years following, with the gradual restoration to civic rights of most of those whose property had been confiscated. Moreover, the Aetolian League seemed to continue to regard the Pythian sanctuary as a federal shrine. Shorn of all its authority, the Amphictyony seems to have gone on, and meetings were resumed in 186, after an embassy had been sent to Rome, and in due course the pretence

was adopted of its being the rallying ground for autonomous peoples and democratic city-states—the one being Thessaly, the other, Athens, and directed against Macedonia. Pomtow believes that it was also hostile to the Aetolian League, but this hypothesis is unlikely. The *senatus-consultum* regarding the Amphictyony is in very vague terms, and the theories of Pomtow on this document are to be rejected. Even the date is doubtful.

**The Name of the Island of Salamis.**—In the *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1930, pp. 59–73, Dr. ANTONIOS CH. HADJIS publishes again an inscription from Salamis originally published by H. Fränkel in *Ath. Mitt.* xlviii, 1923, and further discusses the ancient names of the island of Salamis. A collection of ten names mentioned by ancient authors is given and discussed, and the conclusion is reached that in the third century B.C. the island was called Kolouris from the promontory known to-day as Pounta and not because of its circular shape. The name Kolouris-Koulouri along with the more classical Salamis was in use in mediaeval times and to the end of the eighteenth century.

**Telephos and Auge.**—In the *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1930, pp. 73–76, Dr. A. CH. HADJIS calls attention to a passage in Kedrinos A, p. 245, 7 (Bekker), relative to Telephos and Auge, and points out that the relief on the Etruscan urn given by J. Schmidt in Roscher's *Lex. d. Myth.* for the word Telephos, has no connection with that hero, but represents the queen Pasiphae seated on an altar, Daidalos, a nurse holding the Minotaur, and Minos.

**The Paean to Dionysos.**—In *B.C.H.* lvi, 1932, p. 289, P. R(OUSSEL) announces that new developments have necessitated certain changes in some of the readings of Strophes iv and vii of this hymn, and that a new article by R. Vallois will shortly appear on this subject.

### SCULPTURE

**Colossus in Naxian Quarry.**—Good photographs of the unfinished colossal statue in the quarry at Naxos are published by VON MASSOW (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, 264–68) who interprets it as a bearded Dionysos, late sixth or early fifth century.

**The Composition of the Niobids.**—H. SCHRAEDER considers (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 285–288) the Niobid composition, sometimes believed to be imitated from that on the sides of the throne of the Pheidias Zeus. The known composition

apparently was intended to be viewed as a whole, and its groups seem to be designed for the slabs of a frieze; hence a connection with the Zeus group is improbable. Possibly the original frieze belonged to the temple on the Ilissos.

**Signature of a Son of Lysippos.**—A mutilated inscription, found by Orlandos at Pellana in Achaia, and published by him (*Πρακτικά*, 1931, p. 79) is commented on by P. ROUSSEL in *B.C.H.* lvi, 1932, pp. 287–289. He disputes the text as first published, and sees in it a statue base set up to the gods, and the name of Euthykrates of Sicyon, the son of Lysippos, as sculptor,—a name and date which would correspond with the forms of the letters of the stone. The statue was of the wife of the dedicant, and confirms the report in ancient writers that this sculptor made many portraits of women.

**Stelae with Horsemen.**—The Stele of Menas in Istanbul, probably of the third century B.C., represents with great precision his last combat, as described in the accompanying epigram. The stele of Dexileos is ideal in treatment. The “five horsemen” are to be understood, with the aid of Xenophon, *Hipparch.* 8, 23 ff., as a detachment of “shock troops,” such as each taxis would have. It was in a similar conflict that Menas fell. ERNST PFUHL, in *Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 1–7.

**A Terracotta Statuette of a Barbarian.**—In the *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, N. F. IX (1932), pp. 291–295 (6 figs.), J. SIEVEKING describes an unusual and interesting statuette from Centuripe, Sicily, recently presented to the Museum antiker Kleinkunst in Munich. The statuette, which is 45 cm. high, represents the muscular figure of a nude boxer in a well-balanced pose of vigorous action. There are traces of a reddish brown color on the body as well as on the face and in the hair and eyebrows. The hair consists of heavy strands growing back from the low, flat forehead and gathered into a knot at the back of the head. The features are coarse, the expression a combination of savagery and brutality. Though there is no other work known which can be closely compared with this one, its realism and balanced pose place it stylistically in the Hellenistic period, possibly about the beginning of the first century B.C. It would be interesting to know what race of barbarians is here so admirably portrayed.

**Pergamene Frieze and Hellenistic Painting.**—In the east, south, and southwest parts of the Pergamene frieze, the movement of the figures is

either parallel or perpendicular to the background. On the north side and northern part of the west side the movement is at an oblique angle to the background. The former was the old style of the third century, the latter the new style of the second; evidently there were two directing sculptors. The later style continues into the first century after Christ, but in Augustan relief the oblique angle is made by groups rather than by single figures. In the reliefs of the arch of Titus and often thereafter, there is a different style, which had been used in Italy since the second century B.C.: the center is the foreground, while at the sides the depth increases. From this development in the treatment of space various influences on Roman paintings are drawn; e.g. the last style (of the reliefs) appears in the third Pompeian style and more in the fourth; the Aldobrandini Wedding is a classicistic creation of the late Hellenistic period. F. MATZ, in *Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 278-285.

**Relief of Bellerophon and Pegasus.**—In the *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1930, pp. 76-89, Mr. J. PAPADEMETRIOU publishes relief No. 225 found in 1925 and now in the collection of the Theseum at Athens. Bellerophon holding back Pegasus is represented on this relief which is proved to belong to a sarcophagus of Imperial times. The author believes that the composition is a copy of a more famous work in Corinth where Bellerophon was worshipped.

#### VASES AND PAINTING

**Early Greek Vases from Crete.**—In *B.S.A.* xxxi, session 1930-1931, pp. 56-114 (10 pls.; 36 figs.), M. HARTLEY describes and discusses early Greek vases and fragments found at different times at Episkopi and Arkhanes in the province of Pedhiadha, Fortezza and Kephala near Knossos, and various parts of the Palace and Little Palace at Knossos and their neighborhood. A few pieces from Eleutherna are added, and a plastic clay head from the Little Palace, a plaque, and a head (both in the Louvre) are published. The Louvre head and the Knossos head are earlier than the plaque, "perhaps not later than the middle of the seventh century." The pottery is Protogeometric, Geometric, and Orientalizing, though some examples of L.M. III ware are included. There are fragments of imported wares, Mycenaean, Rhodian, Protocorinthian, and Attic Geometric. From Eleutherna come a few Corinthian fragments and a Laconian crater. The

marked differences in fabric and decoration between the Protogeometric and the Geometric styles may be attributed rather to increased communication with more developed regions than to the invasion of a new race. The shapes and decorations of individual vases are described in detail, and their possible affiliations are discussed.

**Little-Master Cups.**—Certain classes of little-master cups, the so-called lip-cups and band-cups, with a few small subdivisions such as Gordion and Cassel cups, are listed under the names of the artists signing them and briefly described, discussed and illustrated by J. D. BEAZLEY in *J.H.S.* lii, 1932, pt. 2 (pp. 167-204; 5 pls., 20 figs.). The vases are found in all the great public museums, including those of New York and Boston, and some private collections. Some twenty-five different "makers" are represented. The writer considers a lip-cup by Phrynos, in London, "the best of all little-master cups."

**A Klazomenian Sarcophagus.**—LENNART KJELLBERG publishes (*Jb. Arch.* I, xlvii, 1932, pp. 1-11) a Klazomenian sarcophagus in Dresden, no. 23 in Joubin's list. By its marked diminution toward the bottom, it belongs to the late group of Class B. There are three bands at the top representing animals, a battle scene, chariots—and animals at the bottom; these last are in "white-figure" technique. All details are discussed with citation of analogies, and attribution to the painter of the Berlin sarcophagus (*Ant. Denk.* ii, pl. 25) is suggested. Resemblances between these sarcophagi and the style of the Andokides painter are alleged; Miss Pryce's revision of Kjellberg's chronology is rejected; the probable importance in art of Klazomenai and of Asia Minor is emphasized.

**Spinning Women.**—G. RODENWALDT (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 7-21) disputes Beazley's rule that a woman shown spinning in a vase-painting is necessarily respectable. He discusses several doubtful cases.

#### INSCRIPTIONS

**Inscriptions from Thessaly.**—In the *Eph. Arch.* 1930, pp. 97-107, Mr. NICOLAOS J. YIANNPOULOS publishes two inscriptions of freed slaves of the Roman period and eight inscriptions on stelae, one of which dates from the Archaic period. They were discovered in various parts of Thessaly.

**Inscriptions from Philippi.**—PAUL COLLART publishes, in *B.C.H.* lvi, 1932, pp. 192-231 (19 figs.), twenty-one inscriptions, found, with one

exception, in the campaigns of the French School at Athens at Philippi in 1930 and 1931. The inscriptions fall into three categories: (1) monumental (nos. 1-3); (2) honorific (nos. 4-14); and (3) funerary (nos. 15-21). The principal monumental inscription is carved on architrave and cornice blocks of a temple of the Corinthian order, set up after the death of Antoninus Pius. This is proven by the use of the word *divus* before the emperor's name, never employed by Antoninus in his lifetime, so that the temple dates, therefore, in the time of Marcus Aurelius. The second is from the architrave of a building set up to replace one that had been destroyed by fire, the third from a temple of Mercury. Of the honorific inscriptions, the first and most important is in honor of a king Rhometalkes of Thrace, of whom we begin to hear from other sources about 19 A.D. No. 5 is in honor of M. Lollius, proconsul of Macedonia 20-18 B.C.; no. 7 is in honor of the Emperor Constantine (it being estimated to have been set up some time between 324 and 337 A.D.). Of great interest is no. 8, set up by veterans in honor of their former centurion, L. Tatinius, during the reign of Domitian. The importance of this lies in its giving his full military career, step by step. This same officer himself set up the stone numbered 9 in this article, and it is believed that he was a native of Philippi. The other inscriptions in this group are of less importance. The funerary inscriptions are not of great interest. Nos. 17 and 21 are in Greek, and no. 19 is a fragmentary stele of a horseman in relief, without any inscription.

### COINS

**The Chronological Classification of Athenian Coins with Names of Archons.**—In *B.C.H.* lvi-1932, pp. 37-59 (pls. I, II) MICHEL L. KAMBANIS takes up the study of ten groups of coins, of which the finds at Delos have provided a large number of examples. The scheme adopted is that of bringing together the matrices, in their artistic sequence. The dates arrived at by this process disagree with those of Kirchner (*Zeitschr. für Numism.* 1898, p. 74) and Sundwall (*Untersuchungen z. alt. Münzen*, p. 108). The groups studied are spread by the latter scholar over a period of seventy-one years, but the present writer believes them to have been struck off in a period of ten years. On stylistic grounds, Sundwall's conclusions are open to suspicion. The first series, that with the names of Euboulides and Agathokles, lasted, according to Kambanis, for only two

months. The year is completed by the series with the names of Zoilos and Evandros. The next year begins with the names of Damon and Sosikrates, and runs through an entire year; this is followed by Eumelos and Kalliphon, also a year in duration. Then follow Herakleides and Eukles, under whom there is a large list of monetary officers, whose names, together with those of the archons, are always given. In fact, these names form one of the means by which the sequence is arrived at. By a study of these names, Kambanis reaches the conclusion that coins with the names of these two archons were struck off over a period of two years. They are followed by Andreas and Charinautes, lasting a year, and then by Ikeios and Asklepiades, also lasting a year. The next series, that of Timostratos and Poses, appear to last for thirteen months, and are overlapped by Amphikrates and Epistratos. The final pair are Dositheos and Charias. While no definite dates are assigned by the writer, previous scholars have dated the series from 171 (Zoilos and Evandros) to as late as 32 (Andreas-Charinautes; so dated by Beule). Sundwall's latest date is 104 (Amphikrates-Epistratos). In some decade between 171 and 104, therefore, according to Kambanis, these coins were minted.

### ITALY

#### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**Excavations in the Forum of Caesar.**—Only the summit of three arches above ground marked the spot where archaeological finds of the greatest interest are now coming to light. These include a number of shops; the basilica argentaria, a banking establishment; a block of buildings on the Clivus Argentarius, which linked the Via Flaminia and the Via Sacra; and, most interesting of all, perhaps, architectural members of the Trajanic rebuilding of Caesar's temple to Venus Genetrix. These last include Corinthian capitals, column-bases, richly ornamented architrave blocks, and fragments of a frieze of *putti*, the attendants of Cupid in his mother's shrine. SENATOR CORRADO RICCI, in the *Illustrated London News*, March 18, 1933, pp. 386-7.

**Excavations at Minturno.**—"We began on March 30, with a gang of thirty men. Our principal purpose being topographical this season, we started at a point on the north wall of the Roman colony of 295 B.C. where, as I reported in my paper at Syracuse in December, we believed that we had



found a gate at the close of the last campaign. This gate is now almost cleared and proves to be a remarkably interesting monument. Instead of being in the center of a stretch of straight wall (as we should have expected from the example of Ostia) it is at the point of a flat angle. The passage of the gate is about five meters wide, and is flanked by two amazing pentagonal towers of the best quadratum construction. The courses are 59 cm. (i.e., two Roman feet) in height and extend three courses below the outer ancient ground level. A curious feature is that although the town lies in a flat alluvial plain, we have found absolutely no trace of a moat or ditch.

"Our second trench is in the theater. Last season we opened up the E. parodos as far as the edge of the orchestra circle. The theater is Augustan with a considerable rebuilding early in the second century A.D., and perhaps another in the early fourth century. The pavement and the lowest seats are pretty well in place, and we expect to lay bare the entire caeua this season, deferring until a later time the excavation of the outer arcades.

"The third sector is in the Imperial Forum, which lies across the Appian Way from the Republican Forum which was dug last year. The pavement lies only a few centimeters under the modern level, and the building foundations there are in bad shape; we hope, however, to recover the ground plan of the Forum. We are at present working on a row of small shops along the north front of the Forum and on a colonnade which bounds it on the east.

"My volume on the twenty-nine altars from the early first century B.C., found last year, has gone to press. The altars contain the annual lists of the *magistri* and *magistrae* of the cults of Venus, Ceres, Spes and Mercury Felix. The book will be out early in July. In the meantime we are working on volumes on the architectural terracottas and on the topography and monuments of the Republican city." Letter of JOTHAM JOHNSON.

### SCULPTURE

**A Medallion of the Arch of Constantine.**—Carl Blümel publishes (*Jb. Arch. I.* xlvii, 1932, pp. 90-96) a head recently acquired by the Berlin Museum. By fitting it to a cast of the medallion of the Arch of Constantine which represents a sacrifice to Hercules, it is found certainly to belong to a figure behind the Emperor. Better

preserved than the other heads on the medallions, it is identifiable as Antoninus Pius. The emperor therefore is Hadrian and three medallions, in which Antoninus appears, are dated 138. The medallion with the lion-hunt apparently contains a portrait of Aelius Verus and belongs to 136 or 137.

### COINS

**Coins of Lucius Antonius.**—Struck in 41 B.C., these coins have on the reverse a figure of Fortuna Primigenia; in some examples she holds in her hand what is to be regarded, in view of Lucius's connection with Praeneste, as a "sors Praenestina." L. LIEGLE in *Arch. Anz.* 1932, pp. 276 ff.; 3 ill.; the topic discussed more fully in *Zeit. Num.* xlii, 1932, pp. 80 ff.

### MALTA

**A New Discovery in Malta.**—The Imjar megalithic sanctuary recently excavated is composed of three nearly circular rooms grouped in the shape of an ace of clubs. Three wide, shallow steps lead to the entrance, once a covered passage over which one of the great roof-blocks still lies in place. This passage and the rooms were once paved with large flagstones. Nearby is a smaller replica, built of smaller stones and paved only with beaten earth. The larger sanctuary contained flint implements and Neolithic sherds similar to those found elsewhere in Malta, but the sherds in the smaller building were of a later and inferior type. *Ill. London News*, March 11, 1933, p. 339.

### AUSTRIA

**Zwendorf on the March.**—**A New Prehistoric Site in Lower Austria.**—In *Mit. Anth. Ges. Wien*, LXIII Band, I-II Heft (1933), pp. 17-27 (2 pl., 2 t. f.), K. WILLVONSENDER describes the finds from this hitherto unexplored and unknown settlement with remains of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, as well as of the "Hallstatt" and Germanic periods.

Among the Neolithic pottery and stonework, three phases were recognized: (1) the Incised (Linear-keramik) phase representing the oldest Central European development; (2) the Jordansmühl phase (a part of the so-called Lengyel complex which developed out of the Incised and which also includes the Central European Neolithic painted wares); (3) the "Nordic" phase (called "Danordic" by V. Gordon Childe in *Danube*, etc.



[Oxford, 1929], pp. 116 ff.). The first two are designated as Danubian cultures, the last as the south-Nordic mixed culture as defined by Menghin (*Weltgeschichte* [Wien, 1931], pp. 411 ff.). A copper flat celt is ascribed to the Jordansmühl phase. (Important if truly authentic.) The "Nordic" material represents the largest part of the Neolithic finds. Its general character is similar to the Bohemian and Moravian material of the same period. (Compare Stocky, A., *La Bohême Préhistorique I, L'âge de pierre* [Prague, 1926], and Schráníl, J., *Vorgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens* [Berlin, 1929] etc.)

The Bronze Age material, comprising grave and domestic pottery, an axe and a bone blade, belongs to the Lausitz phase (advanced Bronze Age).

Middle "Hallstatt" is postulated on the basis of only two sherds. Similarly, the Germanic period is scantily documented by a few ceramic remains. Apparently, the first to third centuries A.D. are indicated.

There are a few uncertain specimens. (The antler axe might well be "Nordic.")

Animal bones are described collectively without chronological differentiation, and are, therefore, meaningless.

**Bronze Swords from Austria.**—In *Mit. Anth. Ges. Wien*, LXIII Band, I-II Heft (1933), pp. 1-16 (12 text figs., 2 pl., 1 map). L. NISCHER-FALKENHOF writes about Late Bronze and Early Iron Age bronze swords, covering 78 finds. It is the first time this material has been collectively written up (indeed, in certain cases, the specimens have never been published), and a distribution map presented. Many of these finds indicate the routes of the salt trade from Hallstatt towards the Danube and further northward. A variety of types is figured.

**The Hallstatt Settlement on Steinberg at Ernstbrunn.**—In *Mit. Anth. Ges. Wien*, LXIII Band, I-II Heft (1933), pp. 108-125 (16 text ill.), V. LEBZELTER reports upon his excavation pursued on this site in the fall of 1930, which revealed dwellings of the "Hallstatt" C period, datable roughly to 600 B.C.

The finds are described as follows: (1) disturbed human bones of one individual; (2) bones of domesticated animals: cattle, horse (only two phalanges), sheep and goat (both numerous), dog (*Canis fam. matris-obtimae Jeitt*), but no pig; (3) game: elk, deer, boar, wild cat, fox; (4) remnants of huts, consisting of lightly burnt flooring

(plaster?) which suggested rectangular structures (a single sentence describes so important a feature!); (5) stone implements, namely polishing and grit stones, jasper strike-a-lights, and sundry fragments; (6) pottery which is divided into (a) crude ware, irregular in paste, poorly baked, with simple decoration, (b) medium ware, of finer clay, and well fired either with or without the admixture of graphite in the paste, with punctate, dimpled, and impressed decoration, (c) fine ware (usually from graves) with rich decoration ("Kerbschnitt" prominent); (7) weaver's artifacts, i.e. weights, spindle whorls; (8) bone and horn implements, such as a spear head, a spatula (both of bone), polished antler prongs of problematic forms; (9) sherds of sieve vessels; (10) fragments of ceramic ladles; (11) metal is scarce; one pin, part of a pendant; one piece of slag found; (12) cult objects: moon idols of clay, part of a wagon wheel, also of clay, a perforated astragalus; (13) three stray minute Neolithic celts were recovered and are interpreted as indicating a cult.

There is no summary or any generalization or specific comparison.

**Burial Tumuli of the Terminal Hallstatt Period in Lindetwalde near Scharding.**—In *Mit. Anth. Ges. Wien*, LXII Band, V Heft (1932), pp. 258-265, G. KYRLE publishes the finds from six burial mounds which yielded pottery, fragments of iron, and a few flints, dated to the end of "Hallstatt," and transition into La Tène, if not already La Tène A. Of special interest are the polychrome and graphite-slipped vessels from tumulus No. 3.

E. Hofmann adds analyses of the botanical remains among which several varieties of trees have been identified.

**The Foundation of a Late Celtic Dwelling from Roggendorf, near Eggenburg.**—In *Mit. Anth. Ges. Wien*, LXII Band, V Heft (1932), pp. 266-275 (6 pl., 2 t. f.), A. SRIFFT-GOTTLIEB presents an interesting account of his excavation of a unique rectangular house foundation with an entrance ramp, an elevated fireplace, hearth with a flue, and a "Schnabelgrube." The material found within it comprises pottery, iron artifacts and bone implements and belongs to the Late La Tène phase (La Tène D, roughly the first century A.D.). Similar remains exist in the Eggenburg Museum. (Material shows a striking resemblance to that of the extensive fortified Late La Tène seat at Stradonice in Bohemia. See Píř, J. L., *Le Hradisch Stradonitz en Bohême* [Leipzig, 1906].)

## GREAT BRITAIN

**Excavations on Thundersbarrow Hill, Sussex.**—In the *Antiquaries Journal*, April, 1933, pp. 109-151, E. C. CURWEN publishes the results of excavations carried out on a ridge stretching from Southwick near Brighton to a point about four miles from Shoreham-by-Sea. The remains include a small camp containing a quadrilateral enclosure; some depressions representing a Romano-British village; and an extensive series of lynchets, cultivation terraces. The camp consists of a weak earth rampart enclosing a roughly circular area of about three acres, with two original entrances, on the North and South sides. Within is a trapezoidal area of about one and a half acres, defined by a small ditch, and to which access was obtained through entrances on the East and West. That the entrances do not correspond may be an indication that the camp and the enclosure are not contemporary. The Romano-British settlement contains numerous pits in which were found pottery and grain. In some pits had been constructed furnaces for the parching of grain. Grindstones were found, as well. The excavators conclude that the inner enclosure was constructed in the fifth century B.C. and the camp perhaps a century later. Then the hill was deserted until 50 B.C. when an agricultural settlement grew up, lasting about a century. To this period the lynchets belong. The furnaces remained in use until about 400 A.D. The pottery, published by KENNETH P. OAKLEY, consisted of terra sigillata, color-coated ware, domestic Roman ware, and domestic ware.

**Etruscan Antiquities in Liverpool.**—An account of the Etruscan collection in the Public Museums of Liverpool is given by MARY A. JOHNSTONE (*Liverpool Annals*, xix, 3-4, 1932, pp. 121-137, pls. XCIII-XCIV). Forty-two pieces are listed; most are jewelry. The various classes that are represented are briefly discussed. A gold lamina with an obscure scene in repoussé is interesting; the finest piece is perhaps a "tiara."

## AFRICA

**South Africa in the Stone Age.**—In the *Illustrated London News*, April 29, 1933, pp. 606, 628, and an illustrated color supplement, C. VAN RIET LOWE describes an expedition conducted by himself through South Africa. He reports the finding in great abundance of Stone Age implements of all periods, and expresses his belief that the strik-

ing parallels with European implements indicate a common origin, and the probability that the cradle of this prehistoric civilization was in South Africa. He illustrates many of the polychrome rock-paintings, among them one with characteristics so strikingly Egyptian that he considers it probable that the Bushman artist is recording an actual appearance of these invaders.

## CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE AND MEDIAEVAL GREECE

**The Morning Hymns of the Emperor Leo.**—In *B.S.A.* xxxi, session 1930-1931, pp. 115-147, H. J. W. TILLYARD records a resolution passed at the Conference on Byzantine Music held at Copenhagen in 1931, which recommends a uniform method of transcription, and he adds to this a supplement concerning intervals, groups, and interval signs, with comments of his own. He then publishes translations and musical versions of Morning Hymns VI-XI of the Emperor Leo.

**Marble Tables in Athens.**—In the *Eph. Arch.* 1930, pp. 90-96, Mr. DEM. J. PALLAS publishes four pieces of marble tables, now in the Byzantine Museum at Athens, dating from the third-fifth centuries A.D. and bearing a decoration carved in low relief. On the first from Arcadia a return from a successful hunt is represented, on the second from Nelos a charging lion is depicted, on the third from New Anchialos two animals facing each other, and on the fourth a bird is represented in a square formed by a maeandral pattern.

**A Clay Incense Burner.**—In the *Eph. Arch.* 1930, pp. 127-140, Dr. ANDREAS XYNGOPOULOS publishes an important fragment belonging to a clay incense burner of an interesting and not very common shape. The fragment bears a deeply incised decoration representing a bird with a male human head, differing from the type of the harpies and sirens, and apparently derived from Persian and Mesopotamian prototypes. Such creatures are common in Anatolian relics of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D. and on Persian vases of the ninth-thirteenth centuries, and seem to be connected with the Moslem conception of Paradise. In Byzantine works of art they are not uncommon, five such representations carved in stone, one on ivory, and two painted on vases being known. The Byzantine artists, however, developed the type borrowed, and gave to this

unique bird a male head instead of the female head common in Moslem Art. The fragment probably dates from the fourteenth century A.D.

### ITALY

**The Cathedral of Pisa and the Riddle of Its Origin.**—In the *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, N.F. IX (1932), Heft 4, pp. 351-376 (3 figs.), S. GUYER deals with the unsolved riddle of the origin of that strikingly individual style seen in the Pisa Cathedral which played so important a part in Tuscan architecture, especially in the initiation of the Italian Renaissance.

The historical facts about the building of the cathedral are well known; the difficulty is to be sure how much of the present structure belongs to the earliest period. Guyer is convinced that at least the cruciform plan, the columns and pilasters of the nave, the archivolt and timberwork as well as the external ornamental colonnades are the original conception of the architect whose name, Busketo of Dulichion, is inscribed on the façade. Older tradition made him a Greek, whose coming to Pisa from Ionia would not be unusual considering the close relations between Pisa and the East. Guyer, however, thinks he was an Italian whose father had possibly emigrated to the Greek East, and that his name was Boschetto, the Italian diminutive of the family name of Bosco. However that may be, it seems certain that the architect was thoroughly familiar with East Greek building traditions and that he may even have meant to reproduce in Pisa the form of some one of the buildings which in general conception as well as in special features show a strikingly close relationship with the Italian cathedral. For instance, the triforium galleries of Pisa are almost identical with those in the Apulian churches of Bari, Trani, and Barletta attributed to Greeks. The lavish use of rich materials as decoration and the emphasis on this surface decoration are Byzantine features which in Pisa, however, are treated with a new spirit of carefully planned and balanced arrangement of design which is characteristic of Greek, as opposed to the Oriental all-over tapestry style. The cruciform plan of the Pisa Cathedral is most closely allied to churches in the vicinity of Antioch, especially the martyrion type, with the central quadrangular or octangular space of the martyrdom and the four basilicas extending in four directions such as we see in Kal'at Sim'an, or, even better, in the cruciform churches of Cappadocia. In methods of construc-

tion the cathedral resembles again rather the "hinterland," of Antioch than Byzantium, in the timber ceiling instead of the dome and vault; and the wall columns and pilasters of the exterior.

But the strongest point of affiliation between Pisa and the Christian East is the underlying tectonic feeling: the horizontality suggests antique temples; the absence of the atrium links up with the antique Syrian, non-Byzantine idea; and finally, the strong architectonic conception of the whole structure in space, built from the outside toward the inside, rather than vice versa as in the Byzantine buildings. Notwithstanding this East Christian conception, however, the details of the building are chiefly Italian, that is Lombardic, the work being done undoubtedly by Italian rather than Eastern craftsmen.

In conclusion the author reasserts the impossibility of solving the riddle of the exact origin of the Pisa Cathedral, but modestly hopes his exposition of its possible stylistic relationships may form some slight contribution toward clearing up the important question of the position of Pisa in the cultural life of the Middle Ages.

**A Madonna of 1262 by a Follower of Guido da Siena.**—Within the maximum range of seventy years, from 1215 to 1285, various approximately dated, Sieneese paintings have been grouped around the name of Guido da Siena. In *L'Arte*, xxxvi (1933), pp. 3-13 (3 figs.), C. BRANDI adds a new date to the few certain ones, that of 1262 for the Madonna, No. 16 of the gallery at Siena. This he calls a provincial school version of a Guido type. Brandi also corroborates Weigelt's interesting reconstruction of the great ancona of Guido, the central portion of which contained the Madonna of 1221 and whose side panels bore scenes from the Passion formerly in the Badia, Ardenza. Five of these scenes are now in the gallery at Siena; the others are dispersed.

**A Carved Madonna and Crucifix of the Thirteenth Century at Brindisi.**—In *L'Arte*, xxxvi (1933), pp. 18-29 (4 figs.), T. KRAUTHEIMER-HESS assigns to the second quarter of the thirteenth century two pieces of wooden sculpture in the Church of the Crucifixion at Brindisi. The Crucifix is by an Italian following a French model of the early school of Chartres. Likewise the seated Madonna, of about the same period, shows a strong affinity to French sculpture of about the middle of the century, but is indubitably the work of an Italian. French influence in Italy in the

thirteenth century has long been recognized, resulting partly, doubtless, from the presence of French archbishops in Brindisi both early and late in the century.

**Romanesque Wall Paintings in Frauenchiemsee.**—In the *Münchener Jahrbuch*, N.F. IX (1932), Heft 3, pp. 211–252 (16 figs.), A. F. VON REITZENSTEIN describes for the first time in detail some frescoed figures in the arches of the arcades of the nave aisles of the monastery church in Frauenchiemsee. The figures represented are Christ, Mary and Martha, some angels, some crane-like birds and some doves. The coloring corresponds to that described by Theophilus for Romanesque painting; the type of colors used, moreover, relates the frescoes to the Salzburg-Regensburg illuminated manuscripts. The iconography of the figures is not very clear, but seems to deal with some phase or phases of the story of Christ, Mary, and Martha; Lazarus also is represented. The question of the date of the frescoes is considered at length by the author on the basis of relationship to the manuscripts, whose chronology von Reitzenstein has worked out elaborately. The frescoes seem to fit in between the Antiphonal of St. Peter (c. 1150–60) and two manuscripts of the Liutold group, the Michelbeurner Breviary and the Ranshofener Gospels, both by the same hand and dated 1171–1178. They may, therefore, with confidence be assigned to the end of the 1160's.

**Frankish Manuscripts and the Bamberg Cathedral Choir Screen Reliefs.**—In the *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, N.F. IX (1932), Heft 4, pp. 339–350 (10 figs.), E. LUTZE reviews the relationship of manuscripts to sculpture in the first third of the thirteenth century as exemplified in the sculptures on the screen of the choir of St. George in Bamberg. The Cathedral derivation of these latter from manuscripts was first suggested by Panofsky and Jantzen and later supported by Möhle, who, however, considers the relationship not so much an influence of the one reflected on the other as a simultaneous development of the two from the Byzantine traditions in France and in Germany along parallel but distinct lines. With this theory Lutze agrees. After calling attention to the importance of the pattern books as a means of exchanging motifs and stylistic details in sculpture and in manuscripts, he sums up his argument briefly as follows: the style of the Bamberg choir screen and that of the Bamberg manuscripts can be traced back to the

same roots. During one generation, 1200–1230, there can be recognized a parallel growth in which the Frankish style is clearly distinguished from contemporary monuments in Germany. The form elements of the Byzantine style were not superficially adapted and put together in a loose coherence, but were united in an organic synthesis. In Bamberg can be seen, up until the displacing of this fused style by Gothic, the same phases of local style in sculpture and in painting. In the case of the Bamberg reliefs, it is not possible to trace back in detail just how the forms evolved, for the preceding sculptural steps are wanting. With the introduction of the influence of the Rheims school of sculpture, into Bamberg, the stylistic relationship with manuscripts ceased, sculpture forging rapidly ahead toward the development of the high Gothic. Early Gothic thus cut the thread which had up to this time bound together the two arts, and it was only at this moment that manuscripts lost their importance in the history of style development.

#### FRANCE

**An Early Christian Sarcophagus.**—HANS VON SCHÖNEBECK discusses (*Jb. Arch.* I. xlvii, 1932, pp. 97–125) an important Christian sarcophagus in St. Guilhem-du-Désert (southern France, near Montpellier). Most of the fragments had been studied by Hamann (*Marb. Jahrb.* ii, 1925, pp. 71 ff.) and dated about 1140. On one side there was a standing figure of the dead in the center and six miracles: the raising of Lazarus, the sacrifice of Isaac, the healing of the blind, the miracle of Cana, the loaves and fishes, and Peter's fountain. On the other side there is in the center a scene of instruction; on the left the adoration of the magi; on the right three men before a king, Nebuchadnezzar or Herod. On one end is the expulsion from Paradise, on the other the three youths in the furnace. The first side is typical of a large class ("Orans" sarcophagi) in composition and, with the exception of the central figure, in style; and the scenes on the ends are remarkable chiefly for their high relief and good execution. No example of this class of sarcophagi has both sides sculptured, and no good parallel for the composition of the second side is known; but the "city-gate" sarcophagi afford the closest analogies. The style of the groups of Magi and of the central figure on the first side is unusual and best paralleled in minor arts. The costumes indicate a date in the first half of the fourth century. Various



problems in the study of Early Christian sarcophagi are briefly discussed.

**A Reliquary in the Massena Museum.**—The *Analecta Bollandiana*, Tomus L, fasc. 1 and 2 (1932), pp. 147–151, describes a reliquary in the Joubert collection in the Massena Museum at Nice. It is a rectangular casket ornamented by two rows of figures in high relief telling the story of the *passio* of St. Commodus. The reliquary was produced by order of Bernard II of Montaigu, Bishop of Puy (1236–1248), but of St. Commodus no trace of any kind can be found.

#### SPAIN

**A Pieta by Bermejo.**—In *Butlletí dels Museus d'Art de Barcelona*, March, 1933, pp. 86–90 (10 figs.), J. FOLCH I TORRES publishes some interesting illustrations of the *Pieta* altarpiece by Bartolmeu Bermejo in the cathedral at Barcelona. The photographs, taken after recent restorations, show many details not formerly visible.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

**Re-appearance of the Colesville Helm.**—J. G. MANN in the *Antiquaries Journal*, April, 1933, pp. 152–4, announces the discovery by the Duke of Rutland of this helm, which had not been seen since 1855. It is a fine example of a class of which only a few specimens survive, dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

#### RENAISSANCE

##### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**The Origin of the Van Eyck Style.**—In the *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, N. F. Band IX (1932), Heft 4, pp. 320–338 (7 figs.), K. VON TOLNAI attempts to bridge the deep gap between the compositional principles of the French miniature style of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century and the works of the van Eyck brothers. In the former, among which are included both the Parisian school (Maître du Marchal de Boucicaut), and work done at the court of the Duc de Berry in Bourges (Limburg brothers), in spite of the introduction of Italian trecento painting with its use of space and figures, the flat color composition still remains a decorative arrangement on the page. The colors are solid, mostly blue and red with much gold and silver. In the pictures of the van Eyck brothers, however, even at the outset, this technique is altogether lacking. The colors are shaded both

in figures and in landscape; every detail of the picture is selected with the idea of contributing to the naturalistic, light-filled space conception of the whole. If this new style has any roots in the late mediaeval French miniatures, no conclusive evidence of it has as yet been presented.

Between the Annunciation of the Ghent altarpiece, however, and the Annunciation of the Merode altarpiece by Robert Campin there are some striking similarities, such as the bourgeois type of the Madonna pictured in everyday surroundings. Moreover, grisaille figures, such as are used on the Ghent altarpiece, first appear in Netherlandish art on the reverse of Campin's Marriage of the Virgin in the Prado, where they seem to be closely related to Claus Sluter's Burgundian style of sculpture. A third innovation in Campin's work is the light-admitting window affording a glimpse of a landscape, such as is seen in the right wing of the Merode altarpiece; this same device is used by Jan van Eyck in the Chancellor Rolin Madonna. The compositional ideas thus developed by Campin are evident especially in the early work of Jan, and though they gradually diminish, they never completely die out. Robert Campin, therefore, according to von Tolnai, represents the bridge between the earlier miniature art, especially Netherlandish, and the new style. Campin's landscape is an outgrowth of that of Jacquemart de Hesdin, while his heavy figures and rich drapery come from the Burgundian sculpture of Sluter. The introduction of modelled figures into their spatial surroundings gives a unity to the pictures of Campin which is lacking in the miniature style with its dualism consisting of flat figures against a landscape suggesting space. The decorative plane tradition, however, is retained by Campin in his arrangement of details in a formal scheme; this latter superficial unity is first discarded by the van Eycks through whom the new microcosmic picture form reaches its fullest development.

The symbolism of the earlier abstract style is retained by Campin; he not only represents details with the greatest realism but "lends them a supernatural lustre through which they appear as valuable and sacred relics. He translates supernatural symbols into real objects. In his nature, God is seen no longer as a person: God is transformed into His world. A Pantheistic interpretation of reality has been evolved." This Pantheism reaches its full development in the work of Jan van Eyck.



**The Artistic Development of Filippo Lippi.**—In *L'Arte*, XXXVI (1933), pp. 39–45 (5 figs.), L. VENTURI reestablishes the recognized course of Fra Filippo's artistic development as proceeding from L. Monaco and Fra Angelico, passing through Masaccio's influence to its third phase, that of clearly rhythmic line which was his bequest to Botticelli. The study primarily refutes Berenson's reversal of the accepted order, as presented in *Bollettino d'Arte*, July and August, 1932. Venturi maintains that while the influence of Angelico on Filippo is indisputable, the insertion of this influence into the midst of the Masaccesque period can neither be proved by facts nor assumed as a logical hypothesis on the basis of style. The Madonna in the Cook Adoration of the Magi, in which Berenson finds no trace of any style except that of Angelico, according to Venturi has also distinct Filippesque traits. As to the dates of the various phases of Lippi's artistic career, Venturi maintains the accepted chronology, namely, the early Angelico phase, between 1430 and 1437, the Masaccio period, 1437–47, and the flowering of Lippi's distinctive style after 1447.

#### ITALY

**Pietro da Rimini.**—In *Dedalo*, Anno XIII, Fasc. I (1933), pp. 3–17 (12 figs.), M. SALMI adds considerably to the artistic output of Pietro da Rimini, at the same time placing him in a much more important position in relation to the Rimini school. Hitherto, the only work attributed to him has been the large signed Crucifixion in the Chiesa dei Morti at Urbina, considered by some critics to be a poor reflection of Baronzio. Salmi, however, finds the situation reversed, that is, he considers the Crucifix a fine work of Pietro's middle period which had its influence on Baronzio; he dates it between 1330–40. As an earlier work (1316–20) he attributes to Pietro the frescoes in the Abbazia at Pomposa which show influence from Giotto's Paduan frescoes as does also a Deposition formerly in the Gentili collection at Viterbo, here assigned to Pietro for the first time. The last phase of development of the art of Pietro is seen in the frescoes of Santa Chiara at Ravenna, in which two other hands collaborated with him; the date is about 1340. Between the Pomposa frescoes, the masterpiece of the Rimini school, according to Salmi, and the Santa Chiara frescoes there is a great gap. Pietro, with a true artist's spirit, though he turns to Giotto and the Siense, never forgets his fundamental elegance and Byzan-

tinesque distinction. After Giuliano, who was the earliest of the Rimini school, Pietro appears as a most potent master of the school.

**Fifteenth Century Frescoed Hunting Scenes in Lombardy.**—In *Dedalo*, Anno XIII, Fasc. II (1933), pp. 65–83 (17 figs.), F. WITTEGNS publishes an interesting series of frescoes of hunting scenes discovered in 1927 by Gian Carlo Borromeo in a small country house on his estate at Oreno. There are four scenes, one large one on the long uninterrupted wall, and three smaller ones. The scenes are probably symbolic but apparently the figures represent actual people. There are numerous coats of arms which, however, so far have yielded no definite information as to the identity of the figures. Moreover, the meaning of the scenes is not quite clear. In the principal fresco a hunting party is escorting a noble, who kneels at the entrance to a garden. The landscape appears to have been painted from reality; an interesting feature is the duck pond containing a number of ducks in various positions, some of them having dived in head first. The three phases of the hunt are portrayed: falconry, bird-snaring, and the chase. The style has the familiar "international" characteristics seen so frequently in Lombardy, suggesting rather tapestries than frescoes, in drawing as well as in coloring. The frescoes have no great artistic value but like those in Casa Borromeo (Milan), which they resemble, are valuable as charming illustrations of the hunt for which Lombardy is famous. The artists are not identifiable; the date of the frescoes is the middle of the fifteenth century.

#### GERMANY

**Jörg Lederer von Kaufbeuren and his Workshop.**—In the *Münchner Jahrbuch*, N. F. IX (1932), Heft 3, pp. 253–278 (20 figs.), C. T. MÜLLER recognizes in a group of carved wooden altarpieces in Vintschgau (South Tyrol) the style of the Suabian school of Allgau and more particularly, of Jörg Lederer. Müller traces in detail the successive phases of style in Lederer's works and places them in a reasonable chronological order, into which the Vintschgau group fits somewhere about the 1520's. The diversity in style among the many works attributed to Lederer argues a large workshop whose products were in demand even outside the vicinity of Kaufbeuren. The altars are characterized by increased plasticity of form and stronger emphasis on the organic function of the figures.

## NEWS ITEMS FROM ATHENS

Although it was not possible to hold a third festival at Delphi this year, Mrs. Sikelianou staged in Athens a very fine presentation of an Orphic Dithyramb written by her husband. They chose a natural hollow on the far side of the Philopappos Hill for their outdoor theatre and erected a temporary circular orchestra, or stage, for the actors, while the spectators sat on the hillside. The actors were students, not professionals, but owing to Mrs. Sikelianou's training gave a most beautiful performance.

Two Open Meetings were held at the British School during these past months, one on February 9th when Miss Winifred Lamb spoke on *Prehistoric Lesbos*, summarizing the results of her excavations at Thermi and Antissa, and the second on March 29th when the Director of the School, Mr. Payne, told of the third campaign at the site of the Temple of Hera Limenia on Perachora, the promontory opposite Corinth.<sup>1</sup>

The American School held an Open Meeting on February 28th when Mr. Shear reported on the *Excavations in the Athenian Agora in 1932*, and a second meeting is announced for April 29th at which Mr. Kourouniotes will speak on the Telesteria of Eleusis,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Broneer on his excavations of the North Slope of the Acropolis. The French School also held two archaeological meetings; at the first, on March 30th, Mr. Roussel, the Director, reported on the work of the French School during 1932 at Mallia in Crete, Thasos, and Philippi.<sup>2</sup> On April 6th M. Bon gave a very interesting summary of his study of the mediaeval fortifications on Akrocorinth. M. Bon has made a very complete investigation of the Frankish and Venetian castles of Greece.

In the Byzantine field Mr. Sotiriou, the Director of the Byzantine Museum, gave two lectures, in the first of which he discussed the origin of the Arabic letters (Koufic ornament) appearing in conventionalized form as part of the ornamentation of Byzantine churches. These letters are found on the terracotta frieze on the outside of the churches of St. Theodore and St. Nicodemus in Athens, at Daphni, and at St. Luke's in Phocis. Mr. Sotiriou believes that these letters were brought to the mainland of Greece by the Arabs

who were driven out of Crete after the conquest of that island by Nicephoros Phocas in 961. His second conference on March 1st dealt with the Byzantine Monuments in the Island of Cyprus. Mr. Sotiriou spent some time in Cyprus in the summer of 1931 collecting material and photographs for a publication of these monuments. On March 2nd Mr. Makrides, Director of the Benaki Museum in Athens, and formerly Assistant Director of the Museum in Constantinople, read a paper on the columns of Constantinople and the legends attached to them. At one of the meetings of the Society of Christian Archaeology Mr. P. Trembelas spoke on *Orpheus in Early Christian Art*, where the representation is apparently meant to symbolize the domination of sublime harmony over savage instincts. Although the best known examples of this representation of Orpheus are in the catacombs and crypts in Rome, the Byzantine Museum of Athens has a bit of sculpture—dating from the fourth to fifth century A.D. which shows Orpheus playing his lyre in the midst of deer and stags, birds and other animals, some legendary like the sphinx and the griffin. At the second meeting Mrs. Sotiriou read a paper on the cupola type of basilica, of which Santa Sophia is the supreme example. Santa Sophia represents also the combination of two types, that of the Hellenistic basilica with galleries and that of a central basilica with cupola. As a more primitive example of this same combination Mrs. Sotiriou mentioned the so-called *Basilica on the Ilissos*, at the foot of Ardetos, which has been recently entirely cleared by Mr. Sotiriou.

The spring excavation campaigns have begun in several regions. The American excavations in the Agora, having been resumed in January, will continue until July. They have now opened a vast area to the east of the Theseum besides working in two other areas, one to the southeast of the first and the other near the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>3</sup> In Corinth the American School are carrying on excavations in two areas: Mr. Broneer is investigating the south side of the market place with its long south stoa while Mr. de Waele is continuing his last year's clearing of the Precinct of

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Shear's preliminary report on the results of this year's campaign will appear in this number of the JOURNAL.

<sup>1</sup> Reported in the last News Items.

<sup>2</sup> Reported below.

Lerna near the Asklepieion. Mr. Payne, with some of his students from the British School, is carrying on a short campaign, his fourth, at Perachora. The University of Cincinnati expedition under Mr. Blegen and Mr. Semple is continuing the work begun at Troy last year.

The chief activity of the French School in 1932 was the continuation of their work at Mallia in Crete where M. Chapouthier completed the restoration of the Palace magazines and made some supplementary researches at the northwest angle of the Palace and on its south façade. At this point the superposition of the two Palaces is clearly visible, since a metre of deposit separates them. The first Palace extended further to the south and a series of rooms with a corridor has here been explored. The walls are well built and still retain their stuccoed coverings. At the foot of the walls are benches and sockets or niches for lamps, as the excavator judged from the traces of fire surrounding them. Rich deposits of Middle Minoan I pottery were found. M. Demargne continued his exploration of the Necropolis of Chrysolakko where the stratification is now clear; there is a lower level of Middle Minoan I date, composed of a series of sepulchral chambers. Later, but still in Middle Minoan I, an enclosure wall of fine masonry was built around the tomb chambers. At the west of this enclosing wall were found numerous fragments of half columns in the local stone covered with yellowish stucco. Further investigation of private houses was made in two regions. The first, about 300 m. northwest of the Palace near the houses explored in 1924-5, showed little more than foundations, as the soil is very shallow. Two large clay circular areas 0.70 m. in diameter were found, however, which seem to have been hearths; one, as at Mycenae, stood in the open air in the middle of the room with four columns surrounding it. This is one of few examples of the fixed hearth in Crete. In the second region, nearer the Palace, on the west, a large house of Middle Minoan III to Late Minoan I date was cleared. A wall of good masonry faced the road, and a corridor gave access to magazines filled with vases, and led to a large paved court with a light-well, while a side corridor led to a bathroom. Among the small finds from this house were a bronze double-axe, a Cycladic idol and a table of offerings. Near the modern road remains of houses were encountered which, to judge from the objects already recovered, should provide a rich harvest in next sea-

son's exploration. A bathroom and a large chamber with stuccoed walls have already been cleared. Part of the frescoes from the north wall, consisting of stylized plant motives in blue and red on a white background, were so well preserved that they have been removed for restoration. Other finds include a stone lamp with lily decoration and a magnificent stone vase.

In Thasos MM. Devambez and Launey of the French School continued the excavations in two regions. M. Devambez explored the sanctuary located in 1927 north of the Poseideion. The foundations are of the archaic period, but Roman rebuilding and later destructions make it difficult to obtain a coherent plan, nor can the identification of the building be established. Pottery ranging from the seventh to the second centuries B.C. was found in this region. South of the Agora a further section of the Odeion has been explored. Here were found quantities of archaic Cycladic, Corinthian, and Attic pottery, and fragments of a large archaic pithos with decoration in incised relief of a sphinx, a sea monster, and a horse's head. The rectangular court, or "hypostyle hall," has been entirely cleared. To the southeast of the Arch of Caracalla another large structure has been revealed further exploration of which was left to a later campaign. From it, however, came a very fine nude male torso of local marble with the left leg preserved as far as the knee. It is of excellent workmanship and should be dated about 470-460 B.C. Near the sea a whole complex of monastic buildings and churches, two of the basilica type, were discovered by means of trial trenches but not cleared.

At Philippi, MM. Collart and Ducoux have continued their exploration along the Drama-Cavalla road. The Roman temple found the preceding year was completely cleared; it is of the Corinthian order and consists of a rectangular cella with a pronaos and two columns *in antis*; the date is the end of the second century A.D. Many architectural fragments were found which will assist in the restoration of the façade. This temple formed part of a great architectural scheme rising above a large open space, probably the forum. Flights of steps led up from the forum to the higher level where the Corinthian temple and other buildings were symmetrically placed. Many statues of Roman date came to light as well as a great number of Latin inscriptions, including a large part of the dedicatory inscription of the Temple and a dedication by

the Thracian King, Roemetalces. M. Lemerle began work on the large "Basilica of Dirékler" and, proceeding from the north to the south, cleared about half of the Basilica, including the north chapel with the Baptistery and the *naos* as far as the northwest axis of the Narthex. The chapel which is rectangular in form ending in a

corbels, and fragments of the upper cornice of the stairs as well as the débris of the vaulting, all of which enabled M. Lemerle to reconstruct the sculptured decoration of the Basilica. The Narthex was pierced by eight doors, three each in the east and west walls and two in the north and south walls. It was roofed by transverse

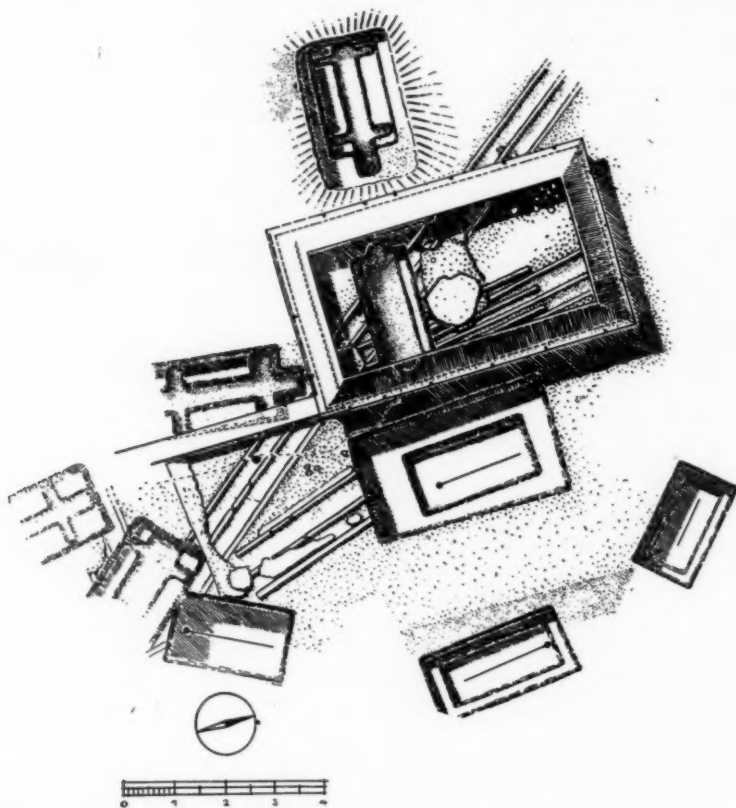


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF SEVENTH CENTURY OFFERING-CHANNELS WITH CRUDE BRICK MONUMENT OF SOLON'S TIME BUILT OVER THEM. KERAMEIKOS

semicircular apse communicates with both the Baptistery and the *naos*. It is paved with marble and the walls above a marble base 0.34 m. high have a revetment of colored marble forming large panels separated by toothed and lozenge-shaped mouldings. The Baptistery, which measures 6.90 m. x 5.60 m. has a sunken bath in its centre measuring 2.50 m. x 1.80 m. The paving is of marble. In the interior of the *naos* were found two large sculptured capitals, two sculptured

barrel-vaults. The Atrium was separated from the Narthex by five arcades of brick vaulting above large pillars. M. Lemerle hopes to complete the clearing of this Basilica in 1933 and to be able to reconstitute its plan in detail.

The German Archaeological Institute were enabled, through the generous help of Mr. Oberlaender, to continue their work in the Kerameikos.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this Report and the accompanying photographs I am indebted to Dr. Karo, the Director of



The principal aim of the excavation in the spring and summer of 1932 was to clear the site formerly occupied by the Chapel of Hagia Triada, removed in 1931. The mound on which the church stood covered a considerable area to the north of the Street of the Tombs. Mr. Kübler and his assistants investigated this area to bed rock. The earliest burials belong to the first millennium B.C., to judge from the geometric pottery found with them. In the seventh century cremation graves and shallow offering-channels made of clay tiles were constructed on the slope rising to the south of the Eridanos brook. Offering-channels of this type have been found hitherto only near Vourva in Attica (2 km. south of Pikierini). One of the Dipylon examples is preserved to a length of more than 12 m. They contained, in addition to the bones of birds and carbonized matter, very fine vases of the Protocorinthian and Early Attic style of the seventh century, some of them having rich plastic decoration. About 600 B.C. a massive grave enclosure of crude brick walls and stone cover slabs was built above these offering channels (Fig. 1). This is the first important grave monument of the time of Solon which has come to light. It contained merely the ashes of a single burial. About the middle of the sixth century B.C. a grave mound about 5 m. high and 30 m. in diameter was erected over this fine structure, composed of the rubbish from earlier tombs, as is seen from the mass of Early Geometric and Early Attic pottery. This tumulus contained four shaft graves; in each lay one skeleton with funerary equipment dating from the middle of the sixth century B.C. The next generation and on down into the fifth century, distributed their graves, both burial and cremation, over the whole hill. Similar stratification was found to the west of the mound, between it and the modern Piraeus Street. Soon after 350 B.C. the appearance of this area was transformed by a large filling of limestone rubble which left all the east side and summit of the old tumulus exposed, and which sloped down to the Sacred Way beside the Eridanos. From the rubbish forming this grave-area was recovered a very fine relief of the beginning of the fourth century with a metrical inscription.<sup>1</sup> The stele represents a grandmother,

the German Institute, and to Dr. Kübler, the Director of the excavations.

<sup>1</sup> ΤΕΚΝΟΝ ΕΜΗΣ ΟΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΔ ΕΧΩ  
ΦΙΛΟΝ ΟΝΤΕΡ ΟΤΕ ΑΥΤΑΣ ΟΜΜΑΣΙΝ  
ΗΕΛΙΩ ΖΩΝΤΕΣ ΕΔΕΡΚΟΜΕΘΑ ΕΧΟΝ

Ampharete, holding her grandchild who had died before her. The grandmother is, in accordance with the traditions of Attic Art, represented as youthful, but the child shows, for the first time, the characteristic features of infancy (Fig. 2).

Towards the end of the fourth century B.C. this whole area disappeared under a third filling with



FIG. 2.—STELE OF AMPHARETE. FROM THE KERAMEIKOS

Hellenistic marble monuments: tables, pillars and little columns. Again, after the destruction of the Kerameikos during the siege of the city by Philip V the whole area was transformed and new monuments erected and a great building of the second century B.C. arose at a higher level above the fourth century B.C. tombs bordering the Sacred Way. In the Sullan reconstruction there was a new fill 3 m. high above the Sacred Way. There were no more graves but remains of houses were found. In Imperial times, however, at a

ΕΜΟΙΣ ΓΟΝΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΝ ΦΘΙΜΕΝΟΝ  
ΦΘΙΜΕΝΗ ΧΩ



level 5 m. above that of the Sacred Way in the fourth century B.C. a new cemetery was established. This was used until the third or fourth century A.D. Mr. Kübler has reinforced the foundations of the later monuments over the whole area so that the different periods of Attic grave building may be clearly distinguished one above the other (Fig. 3).

On the south side of the old Piraeus Street to the east of the precinct of the Messenians Mr.

Mycenaean and the earliest Geometric no break is apparent. Mr. T. Hess has concluded his investigation of the Sacred Gate of the Eridanos and in addition to important conclusions in regard to the fortifications of Athens at this point, he discovered two very fine archaic marble sculptures: the torso of a horse and rider (Fig. 4), and a lion, of the end of the sixth century B.C. Both are half life-size and came from grave monuments. Like so many others, these had been



FIG. 3.—MOUND OF HAGIA TRIADA IN THE KERAMEIKOS AS IT NOW APPEARS WITH TOMBS OF VARIOUS PERIODS SUPERIMPOSED ONE ABOVE THE OTHER

Eilmann has cleared an important necropolis, in the lower stratum of which a children's cemetery of the fifth century B.C. was discovered. The tiny bodies lay in small terracotta tubs or in simple amphorae. To this period also belongs a relief of a mother with a child in swaddling clothes. Higher up are graves dating from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D.

Very much older are the graves inside the city wall in the Pompeion precinct. In addition to those already known Dr. Kraiker has excavated about sixty new ones; they contained sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric offerings from the twelfth to the eleventh centuries and permit the important conclusion that between the latest

built into the hastily constructed wall of Themistokles.

The report of the excavations undertaken by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1932 is now available. Professor Orlandos continued the clearing of the Odeion of Pericles at the southeast corner of the Acropolis. The entire north side of the structure has been laid bare and its exact length can be given as 60.60 m. This wall is well preserved and is built of orthostates of Hymettos marble and above that Pentelic marble and still higher four courses of poros covered with a layer of painted stucco. During this clearing of the north wall were found an altar in the shape of an *omphalos* with the symbolic fillets painted on it,

and pottery ranging from Byzantine times to the sixth century B.C. with one very fine black-figured fragment depicting Herakles pursuing an Amazon.

Professor Orlandos also excavated at Sikyon, where he selected the site about 60 m. northwest of the great Roman ruins called *Palati*, where there had been visible part of a long supporting wall built of large squared blocks. This supporting wall was cleared for a length of 55 m. and it appears to have supported a rectangular terrace, 70 m. long by 35 m. wide extending towards the north up to the rock of the Acropolis where a vertical cutting was made for the end of the wall. On the terrace were found remains of a great horseshoe-shaped building whose inner dimensions are 13 m. by 58 m. with an interior colonnade whose roof is supported by the exterior wall. In front of the stylobate of the columns there was a large water-channel of tufa covered with waterproof cement and having at intervals elliptical cavities to catch the solid matter carried along by the water. The existence of this channel indicates that the central space between the colonnades was open to the sky. A similar supporting wall was discovered on the slope east of the terrace at a depth of 2.50 m. In this eastern supporting wall was found a curved stairway of nine and six steps and in the centre a rectangular fountain which is cut back four metres into the terrace. The fountain consists of a rectangular reservoir with its outer side formed of a low barrier placed on two pillars. In front of the reservoir is a vestibule *in antis*. The walls of the fountain are covered with a very hard plaster. The water was brought to the fountain by three conduits ending in bronze lions' heads. With the help of still other architectural fragments Mr. Orlandos was able to restore the complete design of this structure. In the north side of the supporting wall a narrower stairway was discovered which also led to the top of the terrace and near it were found traces of a propylon whose façade towards the north was closed at a later date.

Behind the propylon remains of a portico appeared, following the line of the terrace toward the east. These consisted of the stylobate and a pilaster with an Ionic base. Mr. Orlandos believes that he has found here the western end of the Agora as described by Pausanias. The most



FIG. 4.—HORSE AND RIDER FROM A GRAVE MONUMENT BUILT INTO THE WALL OF THEMISTOKLES NEAR THE SACRED GATE OF THE ERIDANOS

important of the movable finds are: an inscription referring to the athletic games of the first half of the fifth century B.C., written in the Sikyonian alphabet and mentioning the victories in the Pythian, the Isthmian, Nemean, Sikyonian, and Athenian games; fragments of terracotta roof tiles; the torso and separate head of a Roman marble statue; a marble head, perhaps a portrait of Agrippa the Younger; two marble torsos, one male and one of a woman. All this sculpture belongs probably to the first century A.D. The excavations near the long portico brought to light the torso of a statue of Artemis, less than life size, of the type of the Rospigliosi Artemis and to be dated in the fourth century B.C. A certain number of fourth and third century B.C. terracotta figurines were found as well as some small vases from the tomb of a child. Mr. Orlandos in the course of his campaign made a topographical plan showing all the traces of the ancient Sikyon known up to date.

In Aetolia Mr. Rhomaïos resumed his work at

Thermon. To the west of the great temple he discovered walls of prehistoric date and also continued his study of the elliptical temple, part of which had come to light the preceding year. This building contained in the middle of its large apse a circular hearth made of stones and flat slabs which must have been constructed in the last two or three centuries of the second millennium. Around the hearth were found many superimposed layers of bones and ashes coming undoubtedly from the large sacrificial pyres dedicated to Artemis Laphria and Apollo Thermios. Among the terracotta fragments were some which confirmed the view that the roof of the third century B.C. temple of Apollo Lykeios was vaulted at one end. Other terracotta fragments led Mr. Rhomaïos to conclude that in place of any early acroterion there had been a simple crowning band above the pediment peculiar in that it took the place of the sima. There were also found many fragments of sun-dried bricks from the walls of the cellas of the temples.

In the region of Kalabaka and Kastraki in Thessaly, the Ephor, Mr. Xyngopoulos, undertook an exploratory campaign to determine the site of the mediaeval town of Stagi and to study the church and its surroundings at Doupiani. At neither Kalabaka nor Kastraki could he find any traces of the Stagi of the Middle Ages but his investigations at Doupiani were more successful. To the northwest of Kastraki, opposite the principal group of Meteora, rises a solitary rock, called the column of Doupiani. At the foot of this rock is a chapel of the Virgin which formerly served as the church of the first monastery of Stagi before the founding of the large churches of Meteora. On the summit of Doupiani are still visible remains of the two monasteries of the Pantocrator and of Doupiani, now inaccessible. The chapel of the Virgin, the dimensions of which are 4.90 m. by 7.95 m., is a small basilica with a single aisle and a semi-circular apse on the east. It had a wooden saddle-roof and in the course of the excavations the remains of a veranda were also found which surrounded the chapel on the north, west, and south. In spite of the fact that the church

had been repaired at various epochs the chapel as it now stands is the same as that built in the twelfth century. This is proved by the style of the architecture and masonry and shows that it must be classed with similar structures in Macedonia, at Castoria, Verria, etc. It is well known that the architecture of Byzantine Thessaly and, in particular, that of Meteora, is closely connected with that of Macedonia.

In the island of Cos, just now suffering from a severe earthquake, important discoveries were made by the Italian excavators in 1932. At Kephalos, situated at the extreme southwest end of Cos, two churches belonging to the first Byzantine period were cleared. These churches are of the ordinary basilica type with three aisles, semi-circular apses, a narthex, and a pronaos with four doors. It has been possible, in the first church, to set up four marble columns with their Ionic capitals. In the second, the *bema* was found in good condition, with the episcopal throne, some columns and some fragments of marble which permit the reconstruction, on paper, of the iconostasis and the other parts of the church which had marble revetments. The most interesting discoveries, however, were the well preserved mosaics which covered an area of almost 1300 square metres. They are divided into several sections and show chiefly geometric designs, although the dove and the peacock also appear. The colors used are white, red, blue, black, rose, light-blue, yellow, and orange. A corridor paved with mosaic joins the two churches to the Baptistry, while there are other sacred edifices nearby. The severity of their architecture and the fineness of the execution of the mosaics leads the excavators to place the churches at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century A.D., in the pre-Justinian period. The larger of the two may have been dedicated to St. Stephen and the second to St. Thomas, although no definite evidence for these attributions has yet come to light.

ELIZABETH PIERCE BLEGEN

ATHENS

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE EXCAVATION OF TELL BEIT MIRSIM, Vol. I, The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns, by William Foxwell Albright. Pp. xxi+94, 71 pls. and 15 figs. in the text (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. XII for 1930-1931). New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932. \$2.50.

A preliminary account of Professor Albright's excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim in 1926, 1928 and 1930 appeared in his "Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible," reviewed in *A.J.A.*, 1932, p. 195. This site, which lies southwest of Hebron in the southern Shephelah and is provisionally identified with the Biblical Kiriath-Sepher or Debir, proved to have been occupied from the latter part of the third millennium until about 589 or 587 B.C. Between these dates fourteen distinct occupation-levels were observed, the earliest (Stratum J) being assigned to Early Bronze Age III, the latest (Stratum A) to Early Iron Age II. The monograph now under review consists of a detailed and very fully illustrated description of the pottery from each of the levels, attention being devoted to variations of shape and surface treatment rather than to the texture of the ware, which the author no doubt rightly regards as of less value as a criterion of date. A few sections are also allotted to describing alabaster and faience vases and scarabs found on the site. Professor Albright's wide range of knowledge enables him to supplement the technical descriptions, which appeal primarily to students of Palestinian archaeology, by discussions of more general interest. The ledge handles attached to jars of the Early Bronze Age are considered at some length (§§1-5), their origin being assigned to the Egyptian Delta, whence they came into Palestine at the beginning of the third millennium, to fall into disuse about 1800 B.C. In the earlier strata of the Middle Bronze Age (I-F) the author notes a characteristic decoration, consisting of bands of combing, horizontal and wavy, which has analogies in Egypt and in Syria (§§11-13). With regard to Professor Albright's treatment of this period, it may be said in passing that Strata I and H might perhaps have been more appropriately assigned to the latest period of the Early Bronze Age, as the characteristic M.B.A. shapes do not appear to become prevalent till Stratum G is reached.

Moreover, in the preliminary report on his excavations in 1932 (*A.J.A.*, 1932, pp. 556 ff., *A.S.O.R.B.* No. 47, pp. 3 ff.), Professor Albright emphasizes the differences observable between the two Strata H and G. In connection with the pottery of Stratum D (M.B. II), we have an interesting excursus (§39A) on the earliest appearance of the Cypro-Phoenician "base-ring ware" in Palestine and in Egypt, before the end of the Middle Bronze Age in the middle of the sixteenth century. This ware, together with white-slip milk bowls, is found throughout the Late Bronze Age (Strata C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub>) which is preëminently the period of painted decoration. The Early Iron Age levels necessarily involve a reëxamination of the vexed question of Philistine pottery, to which the author devotes considerable space (§73 ff.). His conclusions are that this pottery is rightly assigned to the Philistines and that its appearance in adjoining territories may be dated to about 1150 B.C., which in Professor Albright's opinion is the last year of Rameses III (a misprint on p. 57 gives his date as 1080-1050 B.C.).

While all the above-mentioned topics are discussed with great erudition and ability, the author's treatment of the less attractive minutiae is perhaps even more remarkable. In tracing the development of such forms as bowl-rims and cooking-pots he displays great acuteness of observation as well as infinite patience, to which must be added a notable gift for lucid exposition. As a result this work is of the greatest possible value for all who take an interest in Palestinian archaeology.

GERALD M. FITZ GERALD  
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

QADESH: MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE À TELL NEBI MEND, 1921-1922, by Maurice Pézard, Paris, 1931, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner. Pp. vii+87, pls. A-C+XLV. 250 frs.

This is a posthumous publication edited from the notes left by Pézard, who died in 1923. It contains summaries of preliminary excavations which were conducted at Tell Nebi Mend, in the neighborhood of Homs, Syria, in the seasons of 1921 and 1922. The plans were prepared by M. Brossé, and the difficult and responsible task of arranging the notes fell to Miss Maggie Rutten.



While the work may thus owe much to the efforts of friends of the deceased, it was not sentiment alone that prompted its publication. The results are modest, it is true, when compared with the material from Qatna, Byblos, and Ras Shamra; at a time, however, when the surface of Syria has hardly been scratched, every bit of evidence bearing on the ancient civilizations of that country is bound to be studied with considerable interest.

The excavator hoped to procure information that might lead to the positive identification of Nebi Mend with Qadesh, the famous Hittite stronghold in Syria. This expectation was not borne out fully, but the material unearthed is not inconsistent with such an interpretation. All in all, the following periods were distinguished: Hellenistic, Syro-Phoenician, Syro-Hittite, and Amorite. This last designation is not a very felicitous one, since the term "Amorite" has no clearly defined stratigraphic significance. The pottery of the stratum in question, especially the analogues of the Tell el-Yahudiye ware, may be assigned to the twentieth century B.C. Beyond that there is little that can be claimed with confidence for the lowest layers which Pézard examined; another campaign would, no doubt, have clarified the situation.

Among the most interesting objects recovered by Pézard may be listed an incomplete stele of Seti I (Pl. XXVIII), several stone statuettes (Pl. XXIX), Syro-Hittite cylinder seals (Pl. XXXI), and a primitive terracotta figurine of a woman carrying a jug on her right shoulder (Pl. XXXVII).

E. A. SPEISER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*THE FLINT MINERS OF BLACKPATCH*, by J. H. Pull, with a Foreword by Sir Arthur Keith. Pp. 152, 23 pls. London, Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1932. 10s, 6d.

The prehistoric flint mines of Britain are among the most notable anywhere in Europe. The best known are Grime's Graves (Norfolk) and Cissbury (Sussex), the latter within sight of Blackpatch, so fully described by the author. Other flint mines in Sussex include: Harrow Hill, Church Hill, Bow Hill, Windover, Tolmere, Lavant, and Stoke Down.

The author points out the features which all the flint mines have: shafts, the shape, size and number of galleries leading from them, surface dumps,

and chipping floors. They were everywhere the work of a people in the same cultural stage. The miner's pick and punch were made from the antlers of the red deer; shoulder blades of oxen, with the spine ridge cut off, were used as shovels. Flint was to the Stone Age what steel has been to the Age of Metals; its chief source especially in western Europe was the great Chalk deposit in which seams of flint occur at various levels. In time the users of flint learned that the freshly mined product served their purpose better than surface flint weathered from its original matrix of Chalk, hence the many extensive flint mines.

Seven shafts were opened at Blackpatch; all but one possessed galleries. The mining was done by day and by daylight. As soon as mined flint passed to the local workshops; these were in the immediate vicinity of the shafts. Partly filled shafts were sometimes employed as workshops. As many as three workshop levels were found in one of the shafts. The workshop floors were strewn with the by-products of tool making with here and there a perfect tool, which had been mislaid or for some reason discarded by its maker. A study of the material from the workshop floors indicates that the flint mining covered a single unbroken period of occupation.

The miners lived just to the east of the mines on the hillside, which is dotted with dwelling sites. The dwellings were circular huts. Six beautiful flint scrapers were found in one of the hut pits. The meat diet of the miners included the domestic ox, pig, and sheep. Wild fauna known to the miners included: roe deer, red deer, wild boar, wild ox, hare, badger, vole, and hedgehog. Worthy of note because of their absence are: wolf, bat, and rabbit. From both the domestic and wild fauna, the dog is strangely absent.

Burial of the dead (inhumation and incineration) took place in the immediate neighborhood. Three burials are described. One of these was under a workshop floor. Burial under round barrows was also in vogue at Blackpatch. The author describes twelve such barrows and their contents.

Some of the flint mines, especially in Belgium, appear to have been the monopoly of a pre-Long Barrow people. The site of Grime's Graves in Norfolk was apparently worked over a long period covering some centuries of pre-Round Barrow date and the whole of the subsequent transition period from Long to Round Barrow. Some of the shafts at Cissbury are probably older than the



Round Barrow Period. The Blackpatch site was worked almost to the end of the Round Barrow Period, even to the close of that period, circa 1000 B.C.

GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY

OLD LYME, CONN.

CINQ ANNÉES DE RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN ÉTHIOPIE, Province du Harar et Éthiopie Méridionale, by R. P. Azais et R. Chambard (Préface par Edmond Pottier). In 2 vols.: v. 1, Texte, with 6 pls. and a map; v. 2, Atlas. Paris, Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 350.

The Rev. Father Azais and M. Roger Chambard made five expeditions during successive years between 1921 and 1926 into Abyssinia, exploring especially the southern portion, the Provinces of Harar and Guraghé. Previous archaeological research had been confined to the north and especially in the region of Aksum. This work presents the narrative of these five explorations in the form of a diary, recording day by day the observations of the travellers as to the country, the ethnography of its inhabitants, the languages spoken, the religions professed, the religious festivals, customs and observations, the nature of the agricultural production of the land and the archaeological discoveries made. The second volume, or Atlas, contains 110 plates, containing from four to six most excellent photographs, each of which gives graphic pictures of the various phases of the life, of the people, the leading products and the archaeology of the country described in the text. In order to facilitate an understanding of the explorations which were made in regions imperfectly charted on ordinary maps, an excellent map of the itineraries is appended to the work.

It is clear from the above statements that the work is a mine of all sorts of information of a little known part of Abyssinia. It reveals a land in which an ancient form of Christianity struggles with Mohammedanism for supremacy but in both of which cults many ancient heathen festivals and customs are perpetuated. A number of interesting tombs and tombstones were found at different points, and at some places stelae or pillars which the authors regard as phallic.

Of the remains, the most interesting of the discoveries were the menhirs similar to those found usually not more than one hundred miles from the sea in Japan, Southern India, Persia, Palestine, North Africa, Spain, France, England and Nor-

way, all of which originated in the Stone Age in prehistoric times. For whatever purpose or from whatever race these strange monuments originated it is clear that the people or the motives extended to this little known part of Abyssinia. The work is a treasure house of facts concerning the archaeology and the customs of this region, and should find a place in every archaeological and ethnographic library.

GEORGE A. BARTON

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE ORIGIN OF CHALCIDIAN WARE, by H. R. W. Smith, University of California. Publications in Classical Archaeology, Vol. 1, No. 3. Pp. 85-145, pls. 9-24, 10 figs. in the text. Berkeley, Calif., 1932. \$1.50.

The author has presented a most interesting theory; the argument runs like this:

In the University Museum is a sherd, the surface of which is curved, and the decorative patterns of which—a rosiform lotus bud, and a palmette between eyes supported by volutes which are continuations of eyebrows—are painted in the Chalcidian style. The shape of vase, however, which is represented by this sherd, and is best restored as a semi-cylindrical dish set on a stand, is purely Etruscan. Etruscan also is an awkwardly incised pattern, which is found along its moulded edges. The conclusions are two: first that this Chalcidian piece which imitates a bucchero type is the work of a potter living in close contact with Etruscans, probably in the philhellene city of Caere; and second, that Caere was the home of Chalcidian ware. The argument is supported by the evidence that the Chalcidian style was formed by the study of imported Corinthian vases in Caeretan warehouses, but passed from a Corinthian beginning to a "somewhat Ionizing close" in a city which was the field of contest between Corinthian and Ionian influences.

Such a brief summary does no justice to the author's method; his arguments are based on a very careful study of details of drawing and on a sensitive response to the artist's mind which result in an exposition which is always illuminating. No scholar interested in the interrelation of Attic, Corinthian and Chalcidian styles can afford to ignore this pamphlet.

As to minor criticisms: the pattern to the left of the better preserved lotus bud on the sherd, p. 87, might well be a portion of a tongue pattern.

The list of bucchero stands, pp. 96 and 97, should be supplemented by two more in the University Museum, which at the time that the author visited the Museum were in storage rooms, and thus, through no fault of his, escaped his attention. To the reviewer it seems unlikely that asparagus, fennel or celery should ever have been tied down, p. 97; the small holes might perhaps have served to secure the stand on a narrow shelf. In an errata slip which is inserted in some copies of the pamphlet, the author has corrected the statement on p. 144 that a piece notable for its resemblance to the Australian oinochoë is in Providence. The reviewer saw it in the New York market within two years. On p. 128, for "it can be doubted," read, "can it be doubted?"

And now for the main question, is the theory tenable? Against the hypothesis is the fact that the Etruscans were born imitators; even a piece which bears all the earmarks of Chalcidian painting might possibly be the work of a clever Etruscan artist. And I find it not beyond the range of possibility that Greeks on Greek soil should cater to Etruscan trade by imitating Etruscan shapes, as the Japanese today cater to occidental taste. And yet the picture which the author draws of a colony of Greek potters at Caere is in accord not only with the famous passage in Pliny, but also with the inherent probabilities of the case. The intermingling of Greek and Italic races in Italy was doubtless very complex with many small settlements, the craftsmen of which prospered and shifted according to the vagaries of taste and style. If the theory sounds complicated it is for that reason the more credible.

EDITH HALL DOHAN

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM  
Philadelphia

PONTISCHE VASEN (Bilder Griechischer Vasen, Heft 5), by *Pericle Ducati*. Pp. 26, pls. 27. Berlin, Verlag Heinrich Keller, 1932. Rm. 25.

The fifth volume of *Bilder Griechischer Vasen* is devoted to an Etrusco-Ionian pottery for which the most convenient label is the old misnomer "Pontic." Professor Ducati is extremely successful in the chief duty of contributors to this series, exhibition. Understanding and enjoyment of the Pontic vases is hindered by a screen of very repulsive Etruscan derivatives. But in the pieces which he publishes beautifully and appreciates most happily we can see distinctly the ex-

cellence of this group. Its merit is chiefly in a crispness and gaiety of decoration, which make it, during some phases at least, the most cheerful family of Greek vases. Yet it can show masterpieces of representation—The Munich "Judgment," an exquisite comedy; the "Tityos" and the "Centaur" in Paris, the latter the only figure in vase-painting which makes one's flesh creep.

The author's special knowledge of Etruscan art serves him well in the comparisons by which he sketches in the background of Pontic vase-painting. An interesting question, whether the Ionism of the style is at all affected by Helladic influences (from Tyrrhenian and Corinthian), is not discussed, but would perhaps have required an excursus beyond the scope of the book. An analysis into six groups is offered. To study it is very instructive, though some particular assignments seem arbitrary. Why are IV (3), Toronto, and II (3), Bibliothèque Nationale, put so far apart, though by the same hand? The group in which the latter is placed seems quite miscellaneous, in spite of a community in sea-monsters, and its capital piece, II (1), is so Etruscan that it might have been excluded altogether, though one could ill spare Ducati's remarks on it and the excellent photographs. Several amphorae of the later groups, especially III (2) and (3), IV (1), seem closer in essentials of style to vases of the first group than to some of their immediate companions. On the other hand, the coarseness of the drawing and the very abstract ornament perhaps detach from the first group its fourth vase, which might be regarded rather as the ancestor of Munich 839-841 than as the sister of the Orvieto komos I (6). Sometimes more strain is placed on a particular link than it can easily bear. Thus while Ducati's observations on the style of the Vatican amphora III (1) are especially discerning, the hare hunt is made to connect it not only with the Paris dish III (10) but also with such debauched outsiders as Munich 1009 and 1010. Again though VI (4) attracts into its group a much more Etruscan piece, Munich 955 VI (11), Munich 937, perhaps by the hand that painted VI (4), is nowhere in the list. But these doubts cannot detract from the welcome due to a beautiful, scholarly and most useful book.

H. R. W. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SCULPTURED PORTRAITS OF GREEK STATESMEN  
WITH A SPECIAL STUDY OF ALEXANDER THE

**GREAT**, by *Elmer G. Suhr*. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 13, ed. by David M. Robinson. Pp. xxi+189, 23 figs. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. \$4.50.

This is a careful study of a very interesting subject. After some general remarks on Greek portraiture, its history, and its position in Greek art and a short account of Minoan-Mycenaean specimens, the author treats in the first section, called Hellenic Statesmen, the ideal portraits of the great statesmen of the archaic period: Lycurgus, Solon, Periander, Pittacus, Cleobulus, and the portraits of the fifth century, of Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles and others. Then he deals with the time of the Peloponnesian War to Alexander the Great. The second section is devoted to Alexander himself, and the third to the Hellenistic statesmen, the Ptolemies, Seleucids, Attalids, Antigonids and Pyrrhus, Lysimachus, Aratus and Demetrius of Phalerum. An appendix deals with the Abukir medallions which are not used because the question of their genuineness is still unsettled. So the survey being complete, the author has provided us with a very useful handbook. The immense and widespread literature has been very carefully collected. I have noticed only very few omissions i.e., the probable dating of the statue of Aeaces in the beginning of the fifth century (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, I, nr. 10); Thiersch's remarks on Lycurgus in the *Nachrichten Götting. Gesellschaft phil.-hist. Kl., Wiss.*, 1928, 95; Delbrück's and Miss Bieber's articles in the *Jb. Arch. I.*, vol. 40; the head at Geneva (*Monument Piot*, vol. 27). The author's judgment is very sound and cautious, since he is aware of the precariousness of identifications in the fifth century, such as those of Miltiades and Cimon and of ascriptions of heads of Alexander to special artists. The method is very sure. So the foundations for the portrait of Alexander are laid by dealing with the various portraits recorded in ancient literature, the preserved descriptions of his physiognomy, the meaning of terms like the "bending of the head" and "moisture of the eye," the representations on coins, gems, and in painting. The arrangement of the extant sculptured portraits is made in an unprejudiced way: the Azara herm, heads turned to the right, heads facing straight forward, heads turned to the left. Interesting is the refutation of the theory that the Sophocles in the Lateran represents Solon; the high appreciation of the

portrait of Alexander on the Sarcophagus from Sidon and of the Azara herm; the ascription of the Chatsworth head to the followers of Scopas and of the head in the Barracco collection to Leochares. The Alexander Rondanini is called not Alexander but an idealized portrait of a youth either contemporary or subsequent. Rather surprising is the statement that the fine head from Pergamon, which Pfuhl claimed in a lecture years ago, correctly as I believe, to be a Pergamene copy of a Lysippean work, may represent a barbarian chieftain as well as Alexander and that the "Pastoretsche Kopf" can be dated so early as to represent Cimon. Interesting also is the estimation of the art of the fifth century: the head of Pericles is called the noblest example of the "nothing too much" in the art of portraiture for all time, and the realism of Hellenistic times is regarded as marking a technical advance but also a downward movement. Do we have symptoms of such a change in the appreciation of individualism which is taking place at present? The question of the herm which the author touches upon in the introduction has been recently studied by R. Lullies, *Die Typen der Griechischen Herme*, pp. 56 ff., who denies that it was used for portraits in pre-Roman times. VALENTIN MÜLLER

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

**ATHENIAN TRIBAL CYCLES IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE**, by *William Scott Ferguson*. Pp. xiv+197. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932. (Harvard Historical Monographs, Vol. I.) \$1.50.

While reading Professor Ferguson's newest book one must have readily accessible Dinsmoor's *Archons of Athens*, for Professor Ferguson uses Dinsmoor's invaluable study as a point of departure for further investigations. Although he generously acknowledges the contributions made by Dinsmoor, particularly in bridging the awkward gaps after Olympiodoros at the beginning of the third century and in establishing the cycles at the end of the second and the beginning of the first century, he is more often than not at variance with his friendly rival. For the period from 293 to the capture of Athens by Antigonos in 263/2, and also for the years 145/6-87/6, they are in general agreement as to the character of the cycles. Within Dinsmoor's cycles, however, Ferguson is at times able to find new positions for archons and secretaries more in accord with the epigraphical and historical evidence.

For the period from 262 to the end of the century, Ferguson makes a new analysis of the famous inventory of the Asklepieion which leads to a system of cycles quite different from those of Dinsmoor. Here he finds occasion for an effective criticism of Dinsmoor's attempt to place the reorganization of the Soteria at Delphi in 248 B.C. After discussing also a recent discovery made by Robert that the reorganization took place between 246 and 240, he returns to the date 254 which suits more satisfactorily the historical situation implicit in the reorganization. For the first half of the second century Ferguson's cycles are one year later than those of Dinsmoor.

No brief enumeration of the points of difference between the two men can adequately describe the value and the content of Ferguson's latest contribution to our knowledge of tribal cycles in Athens. His purpose was not primarily to establish a better list of Athenian archons. Instead, he gives us the results of his recent studies in the machinery of the tribal cycle. He examines afresh the relation between tribal cycles and public records, and he shows how valuable is the clue furnished by inventories and tables of archons and priests. He investigates the breaks in cyclic continuity and finds reasons for believing that the tribe Aiantis was chosen from time to time to inaugurate a cycle because of its privileged status among the tribes, a status for which we have the authority of one of Plutarch's dialogues. Not the least important of Ferguson's findings is a new type of cycle, a cycle wherein the tribes secure offices by lot, not by rotation, each tribe holding a given office only once until all have had a turn. When every tribe had been represented, then new lots were drawn, or possibly rotation was again adopted as the basis of the next cycle.

Professor Ferguson, despite a modest disclaimer of finality for his reconstruction of Hellenistic chronology, has again shown the inestimable value of Tribal Cycles as an instrument for untangling the skein of Athenian history, and with his usual felicity he has brought further order into the anarchy which once prevailed.

ALLEN BROWN WEST

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

ARCHAEOLOGIA HUNGARICA. IX. LELETEK A HUN RORSZAKBÓLÉS ETHNIKAI SZÉTVÁLÁSTÁSUK, by *Andreas Alföldi*, Funde aus der Hun-

nenzeit und ihre ethnische Sonderung. Budapest, 1932. Pp. 90, 36 pls.

We have in this well-prepared volume another worthy number of the series sponsored by the National Museum of Hungary. The author summarizes and illustrates many of the more recent finds in Hungary and elsewhere in his attempt to define the precise nature of the culture of the Huns on their arrival in Central Europe and the relationship of this culture to that of the Germans and the Alans. The book will be most valuable for reference material, and it speaks well for the work of the Hungarian scholars in this field. We are only now becoming aware through the work of Rostovtzeff and other scholars of the extraordinarily complicated cultures that surged back and forth across the plains of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. By comparing the remains so far as the material is available with the Eastern and Western remains of the culture, the author has prepared a sketch of the outstanding Hunnic characteristics of swords, bows, horse trappings, ceramics and bronze vessels, etc. He does not claim to have given a complete sketch of the material, but he has certainly made a valuable beginning, which is to some extent dependent on the discovery of the specific types of Alan culture. Later we can proceed to formulate the exact relations of the different cultures and races. As it is, we must feel that Dr. Alföldi has given us a valuable collection of material and we must greet the book as another worthy example of modern Hungarian scholarship.

CLARENCE A. MANNING

NEW YORK

PRASSITELE, by *G. E. Rizzo*. In the series *I Geni e le Opere*, directed by Arduino Colesanti. Published by Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli. Milan-Rome, 1932. Pp. 126, 150 pls.

In this book on Praxiteles, a volume in the series entitled *I Geni e le Opere*, the distinguished Italian archaeologist Guido Rizzo has given us an admirable account of the great fourth-century sculptor. He has summed up our present knowledge on the subject in a lucid, judicious, comprehensive manner, steering clear of too many controversies, yet presenting fairly the various problems involved; and he has made a number of important original contributions. The material is presented in an orderly, methodical manner. The various statues associated with Praxiteles are examined one by one in the light of literary and



stylistic evidence, and copiously illustrated in large, clear illustrations which by their juxtaposition often eloquently reinforce the argument. It is not too much to say that Professore Rizzo gives us the clearest and most consistent picture of Praxiteles so far presented.

In this review we can bring out only a few salient points. The author accepts the *Hermes of Olympia* unreservedly as an original work by Praxiteles, since Pausanias' specific statement and the subtle character of the modelling seem to him more convincing evidence than the various arguments advanced by recent sceptics. He also points out that if a copy of Hadrian's time had been substituted for the original it would have been extraordinary that Pausanias visiting the *Heraion* not long afterwards should not have been informed of so important a fact or recognized the comparative newness of the statue. The unfinished condition of the back he points out is not unusual in fourth-century originals.

An interesting theory is advanced regarding the *Cnidian Aphrodite*. Two chief types among the identified copies are distinguished—the first represented by the statue recently come to light in the Magazzini of the Vatican, formerly in the Belvedere of the Vatican (pls. 71–75), by a headless example lately found in the Via Ostia and now in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (pl. 77), by the head from the Borghese Collection now in the Louvre (pls. 78, 79), and by the head mounted on the well-known Vatican statue (pls. 80b, 82, 83); the second by the body of the Vatican statue (pls. 82–83)—now at last exhibited without the disturbing tin drapery—by another statue in the Magazzini of the Vatican (pl. 81), and by the Kaufmann head (pls. 85, 86). The first type differs from the second in that the left arm is held higher, the vase on which the drapery falls is smaller and does not rest on a support, the style of the head is more severe, less florid, the modelling more restrained. Since the composition of the copies of the first type tallies closely with the representations on the coins of Caracalla (pl. 70)—which form the basis of the identification—Rizzo argues that it is that of Praxiteles' *Cnidian Aphrodite*, whereas the representatives of the second type are copies of a later version either by Praxiteles himself (we know from literary evidence that he made a number of *Aphrodites*) or a slightly later follower; for it seems to him doubtful that a copyist could have introduced such significant changes.

The *Mantineia* base is once more related to Praxiteles, for Vollgraff's theory that the cult of *Leto* was not introduced at *Mantineia* before 303 B.C. is considered as successfully countered by Herzog. The head of *Eubuleus*, the identification of which rests on a votive inscription found in the sanctuary, is accepted as a Greek original and its close relationship to the works of Praxiteles is stressed. Since we know from an inscription that Praxiteles made a *Eubuleus*, and since two Roman copies of the head exist testifying to the fame of the original, Furtwängler's identification of the head as an original by Praxiteles has some plausibility. Without denying this probability, Rizzo points out that the head can hardly have formed part of a *herm*, as maintained by Furtwängler, for it was clearly worked to be inserted in a statue. The signature of Praxiteles (in the Vatican) appears on a headless Roman *herm*, so the point is important.

The lost original of the *Capitoline Satyr* is accepted as a work by Praxiteles; so are those of the *Leconfield Aphrodite* (Rizzo does not mention the discoloration of the surface caused by a recent fire) and of the "*Eros-Sauromaktonos*" in New York (pls. 66–67) of which another copy in Naples is noted. The original of the *Hermes of Andros*, on the other hand is attributed to a slightly later sculptor; likewise the *Marathon Boy*. Regarding the pose of the latter we may point out that conclusive proof of its having leaned against a support is furnished by the fact that a line drawn vertically from the supra-sternal notch does not touch the inner ankle bone of the supporting leg, showing that the weight of the body must have been distributed between that leg and another member, just as in the *Hermes of Olympia* (cf. *A.J.A.* XXXV, 1931, p. 280). For our visualization of Praxiteles' *Pseliumene*, the *Haviland bronze* and the *Providence Aphrodite* (cf. *A.J.A.* XXXVII, 1933, Pls. VII and VIII; S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, 1899, p. 374) might have been mentioned alongside the *Pourtales Aphrodite*. When discussing the *Ploutos boy* in Athens it would have been helpful to point out that its authenticity has been questioned.

In some attributions the reviewer would be inclined to be more sceptical than the author; but in every case the evidence is dispassionately presented, and the reader can use his own judgment. It is in fact a pleasure to read a book in which polemics are relegated to so secondary a place, in which full credit is given to the discoverers of im-



portant evidence, and in which the work of art itself is the object of chief interest (cf. p. 105 . . . "premendo a noi conoscere l'opera d'arte, piuttosto che le infinite diatribe su di essa"). It is Professore Rizzo's deep and yet detached enthusiasm that makes of his book such a noteworthy contribution to archaeology.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART  
New York

Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Alfred Gercke und Edouard Norden, II Band, 3 Heft, GRIECHISCHE UND RÖMISCHE KUNST, by A. Rumpf. Pp. 1-106, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1931. 4.32 RM.

The chapter *Kunst* in the new fourth edition of Volume II of the Gercke-Norden *Einleitung* includes not Greek art alone, as in earlier editions, but also the art of the Romans. The arrangement is also different; in previous editions a separate account was given of each of the three main categories of art—architecture, sculpture, and painting—whereas, by the new scheme, these arts are grouped together under each of the twenty-one chronological divisions into which the book is divided. This is a great improvement, for it is surely right that the account of Exekias and the Andokides vases should follow directly on that of the Siphnian treasury, and that of the Penelope painter on the description of the Parthenon. A bibliography concludes each section.

Pre-Greek art is disposed of somewhat summarily in the first chapter. Everything before 1800 B.C. is excluded on the ground that it belongs to prehistory, and the account of Minoan art thus begins in the middle with no word of Mochlos and other early sites. The author has himself pointed out elsewhere the danger of the argument *e silentio*, but he states that there was no monumental sculpture in Crete, whereas the discovery of bronze locks of hair in the midst of a mass of charred wood (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 522), seems to warrant the supposition that such sculpture existed. The third and fourth chapters are entitled *Der idaeische Stil* and *Der daedalische Stil*. In the former, the author belittles oriental influence, holding that the significant thing in this period is not the "purely chance appearance from the east of a few borrowed motives," but the purely Greek principle which has

annexed these motives without sacrificing its own inherent character. That principle is, of course, triumphant over invading styles, but the triumph is the greater if the great inrush of oriental motives and methods is freely admitted. In the chapter on the Daedalic style we miss the head from Mycenae; and suspect that it is suppressed because it is not Cretan. "Kreta ist Mittelpunkt und Ausgangspunkt der neuen Richtung."

The chapters on archaic art are admirably written. There is a failure, perhaps, to connect the monuments of Greek art with literature and history, but the changes which took place in those years are described in great detail with careful observance of facts and a fine feeling for differences in styles. The author's terse characterizations are often memorable, as, when he calls the seated goddess in Berlin "ein sauberes, wohldurchdachtes aber inhaltloses Werk."

In the ninth section on *Die Zeit des Phidias*, the Bassae temple is erroneously called a *Marmortempel*, and the view that Iktinos' connection with the structure is confined to the ground plan will doubtless need revision in view of the recent article in Metropolitan Museum Studies IV by Dinsmoor, who holds that the work of Iktinos went as high as the cornice. The bibliography on Phidian architecture is scanty; extraordinary is the omission of the American publication of the Erechtheum from the list of works on the temple, although it is included later among the works on dated reliefs.

With section XII, *Archaische Kunst im Mittelitalien*, the scene shifts to Italy where in 750 with the foundation of Cyme, the prehistoric period ends. Etruscan wall-paintings are dated with the help of Attic vase-paintings; thus the *tomba degli auguri* and others are related to the style of Olto, the *tomba del morente* with the period of the *καλός* name, Hipparchos, the *tomba delle leonesse* with the time of Skythes. In section XIII (p. 82) occurs the statement that no pieces of Etruscan sculpture can be dated to the third century B.C.; the reviewer will cite but one, the sepulchral chest figured in *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, p. 255, Figure 2.

The bibliographies of the last chapters on late Roman art are very full and will be particularly welcome to American students.

EDITH HALL DOHAN

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM  
Philadelphia

DIE ATTISCHEN GRABRELIEFS DES 5. UND 4. JAHRHUNDERTS V. CHR., by *Hans Diepolder*. Verlag Heinrich Keller, Berlin, 1931. Pp. 64, 12 figs., 54 pls. 50 MK.

We have long needed a consecutive history of Athenian gravestones of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Conze in his monumental work on *Griechische Grabreliefs*, made no attempt to place the reliefs consecutively or to date them precisely. The time was ripe for a more scientific treatment. And now Dr. Diepolder has given it to us in a convincing and attractive form. He has placed the reliefs—at least a representative selection of them—in chronological sequence, decade by decade; he has briefly traced their stylistic development, and he has figured the majority in excellent illustrations. Thereby we obtain at last a clear and orderly picture of this beautiful branch of Greek sculpture.

The picture presented is from the artistic point of view even richer than one expected. For instance, probably few of us realized before this opportunity of a cumulative effect the wealth and the signal beauty of late fifth-century and early fourth-century reliefs, and the grandeur of some of the later and more ambitious monuments. Besides the ordinary gravestones of cursory execution there was evidently a large number that ranked in quality with the best architectural sculpture of the time.

Landmarks for the chronology are furnished by dated sculptures—the Parthenon frieze and pediments, the karyatids of the Erechtheion, the Nike “balustrade” and above all the invaluable record reliefs which supply specific dates for the last three decades of the fifth century and for the fourth century from the seventies until 317 B.C., the very year when the anti-luxury decree of Demetrios put an end to the erection of sculptured grave monuments. Further help is obtained by the shapes of the stelae, the inscriptions, and the contemporary history. Dr. Diepolder has used this evidence with good judgment and keen observation. His sketch is, in fact, a good example of what the modern archaeologist can achieve by the painstaking utilization of clues, combined with artistic perception. Moreover, the text forms pleasant reading, is concise and to the point, even if occasionally somewhat abstract in thought and subjective in tone.

Though many of the examples selected by Dr. Diepolder are of course old friends, a number of little-known pieces are brought before us, for in-

stance, the lovely lekythos of Myrrhine (pl. 13, 1), the stele of a warrior in Moscow (pl. 32), a stele in a private collection in Bucharest (pl. 28, 2), and the stele of Aristomache in Winton Castle. Perhaps the greatest gain we derive from this fine array of monuments is the sense of interrelation between them. Our understanding of the whole art is increased by this opportunity, now so conveniently afforded, of viewing each piece in the setting of its contemporaries and against the background of its antecedents and descendants.

When so much has been given it seems ungracious to want more. Because of its fine quality, the Lausdowne fragment in New York, comparable to the stele of Phrasikleia (pl. 19) should have been included. The seated figure in New York (pl. 7) holds a pyxis as well as a lekythos and cannot therefore be interpreted as a purely funerary subject. Many would hesitate to believe that the sculptor of this relief is identical with that of the stelae from Thespias (pl. 8, 1) and of Aristomache (pl. 8, 2). The ribbon-like folds are after all common property of many other sculptures of this period, including the Parthenon pediments. The relief from Liatani appears more closely related to the Parthenon frieze than to the pediments. In making comparisons with the Orpheus relief in Naples (fig. 2) it should be remembered that it is a Roman copy, not a Greek original.

We owe Dr. Diepolder a debt of gratitude for the service he has rendered archaeology in this penetrating study. The field is now prepared for a similar treatment of non-Attic reliefs along the same lines as those laid down by Dr. Diepolder.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York

THE EPHEMERIDES OF ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION, by *Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.* Pp. 81. The Brown University Studies, Brown University, Providence, 1932. \$3.

This closely reasoned book is an attempt to settle one of the many problems connected with Alexander's expedition. The argument runs as follows:

The official diary (Ephemerides) of Alexander kept by Eumenes and Diodotos was “published in some form shortly after Alexander's death, possibly by Strattis, and soon thereafter passed into the general body of literature.” The exact nature of the diary is, of course, unknown, but some

idea of its original content may be inferred from the circumstantial account of the last month of Alexander's life, preserved for us in the pages of Arrian, Plutarch and Aelian. The synoptic arrangement of these accounts constructed by the author (pp. 64-68) is very helpful here.

In fact, its success probably suggested to Professor Robinson the present approach. He lists in a synoptic table which comprises the chief portion of the book (pp. 13-62) all of the places mentioned in the accounts by Arrian, Diodorus, Justin, Curtius and Plutarch. We have thus the itinerary of Alexander as reconstructed by our ancient sources. It is inevitable that in the five versions there should appear differences both of arrangement and inclusion, and in a brief analysis Robinson discusses the significance of the discrepancies. He points out that in the early portion of the itinerary (the period ending with the third visit to Bactra) the agreement between the five sources is striking; that in the middle portion (covering the period up to the return to Bucephala from India) the parallelism becomes noticeably less exact; and that in the last (the account of the march homeward to Babylon) the agreement is again fairly close. W. K. Prentice had already shown that the contemporary account of Callisthenes was based upon the Ephemerides. Robinson takes the argument a step further: Callisthenes' work came to an end with his arrest in 327; the date coincides with the end of the first period mentioned above; the inaccuracies appear immediately afterward and continue until the third period; therefore "the Ephemerides for both the first and second divisions were probably lost before any account except that of Callisthenes was written" (p. 71).

Now all this is highly conjectural. That there are important obstacles in the way of acceptance of his theory the author knows (pp. 72-73): the meagerness of the details in the third period as contrasted with those in the first; and the fact that the discrepancies in the third period may be due to the unfamiliarity of classical writers with the strange names in the Far East. The very mention of the latter objection suggests a more fundamental criticism of the theory. Perhaps the inconsistencies in the *second* division are also to be traced to the classical writers' unfamiliarity with topography—the more so since this period covers precisely the region farthest east and least known to the ancients. In the absence of more definite proof it will be safer to suspend judgment.

In any case, the approach to the problem is ingenious and deserves commendation.

The book is attractive in appearance, but there are two defects which call for criticism which may be helpful in any further work of the author. The synoptic table is awkward: a smaller type face should have been employed in order that the five parallel columns could have been printed right-side-up and the size of the page materially reduced. The map, borrowed from one in the Cambridge Ancient History, is not adequate, as far too many of the places mentioned in the synoptic list are omitted. It would not have been a very difficult task to revise the map to fit the special needs of the volume.

CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

DURA STUDIES, by Jotham Johnson. Pp. vii+47; pls. III. Philadelphia, 1932. .75.

Dura Studies, a doctoral dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania, is a fruit of Dr. Johnson's participation in the excavations of Dura-Europos. It contains three papers on subjects which "warrant fuller treatment than is possible in excavation reports."

In the first (The Dura Horoscope and the Seleucid Calendar), he argues that the Greeks of the Seleucid Empire grafted upon the Macedonian calendar a nineteen-year cycle with a fixed order of intercalations identical with the contemporary Babylonian calendar. He argues further that this enneadecateris, except for one superfluous and unexplained intercalation, continued in use up to 176 A.D. The extra intercalation is reasonably certain from the date inscribed on the Dura horoscope, and possibly Johnson is correct in believing that the retardation in the Macedonian calendar of Syria by which Hyperbaretaios, originally the last month of the Macedonian year, became the first resulted from the unnecessary intercalation.

Johnson's evidence for the Seleucid calendar is a series of three Seleucid dates, with Egyptian equivalents, running from Apellaios 5, 245 B.C. to Xanthikos 5, 229 B.C. Except that the names of the months are Macedonian, correspondence with dates established for the native Babylonian calendar is exact. This correspondence, however, is not sufficient to prove that the Macedonian calendar used the same nineteen-year cycle as the Babylonian, or that it used a nineteen-year cycle at all. It proves merely that the lunar calendar

was functioning normally. Furthermore, if one constructs an octaeteris to suit the three key dates, and projects the cycle backward to the Macedonian date for the death of Alexander, there is no discrepancy. With the gap between 323 and 229 thus bridged by our hypothetical eight-year cycle, we project it forward into the second century until we find that between 148/7 and 126/5 the Macedonian intercalations fall in the same years as the Babylonian. By this time, however, the Macedonian calendar is consistently one month behind the Babylonian. Thus the retardation for which Johnson postulates an irregular intercalation finds an explanation quite in harmony with normal Greek practice. Though proof of the existence of a Seleucid-Macedonian calendar remains to seek, one may properly enquire whether there was a Parthian-Greek calendar similar to Johnson's Seleucid calendar in its later stages.

The second chapter (The Hereditary Strategos) is prosopographical in character. Starting with Cumont's earlier investigations, and using material discovered in recent excavations, Johnson constructs a genealogical tree for the first family of the town, and with the data thus tabulated he shows that the local strategos was held for life and passed according to the prevailing laws of inheritance from one generation to another in the same family. Furthermore, the strategos seems to have been little more than a sheikh, slightly camouflaged under a Greek title.

In the last chapter we find Johnson's reconstruction of a parchment diptych on which were written four legal documents. Holes in the margin of the two leaves gave him a clue to their relative position, and the discovery of other parchments since the original publication of the diptych by Cumont facilitated the identification and restoration of the four documents. The fourth is an important addition to that group of contracts to which belongs Dura Parchment X, a contract for a loan in which the person of the debtor serves as security and his services take the place of interest.

The dissertation is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of social and political conditions in Dura. Even the first chapter, despite its failure to prove the existence of a Seleucid calendar, illustrates the fusion of cultures which took place in this outpost of Greco-Macedonian civilization.

ALLEN BROWN WEST

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DURA-EUROPOS. Preliminary Report of Third Season of Work, November 1929-March 1930. Ed. by P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff and Alfred R. Bellinger. Pp. xiv+168, 20 pls. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932. \$2.00.

The third report on the excavations at Dura-Europos proves how fortunate was the decision made by Yale University to continue the investigations begun by Mr. Breasted and M. Cumont. The most important result in the field of architecture was the complete clearing of a site containing the temples of Artemis and Atargatis and a house which was probably the dwelling-place of the priests. Cumont had already partly excavated the area, but had assumed that there was only one temple. We not only know now the exact ground plan of the two temples divided by a small lane, but also their history from 6 B.C. until the third century A.D., thanks to valuable inscriptions and to a critical examination of the ruins by Mr. Rowell. Mr. Bellinger argues that the temples were already founded in Seleucid times, relying on the evidence of early coins found on the site and on the character of the goddess Artemis, who seems to be rather Greek than Semitic. He also analyzes the ground plan of the temple and correctly points to its Oriental character. But a closer analogy than to the Mesopotamian type to which he refers can be found in the coastlands of Asia. There is indeed the same ring of rooms surrounding an inner court as in Mesopotamia, but it is not continuous and is not built at one time as always in Mesopotamia. Furthermore, the main sanctuary may adjoin the outer wall as in the temple of Atargatis, but that this is not necessary is shown by the other temple which has a chapel standing free and surrounded by the courts on all four sides, a feature never occurring in Mesopotamia. The third difference is the parallelism of three cellas, whereas in Mesopotamia there is a main cella having rather inconspicuous siderooms directed in a right angle to it. Three parallel cellas, however, are the typical form of the "Syrian Kalybe," so ingeniously established by Oelmann (*Bonn. Jahrbücher*, vol. 127, pp. 226 ff.). The broad anteroom before them as it is seen at Dura occurs in the Kase Fira'un at Petra (Oelmann, *loc. cit.*, Wiegand, *Petra*, pp. 56 ff.). The surrounding court found also there has recently been proved to be of an old Syrian type by the excavations at Ras Shamra (*Syria*, XII, 1931, p. 9) and Palestinian



specimens of it show the additional rooms (Handcock, *Archaeology of the Holy Land*, pp. 334 f.; Ronsevalle, *Mélanges Beyrouth*, XV, pp. 175 ff.). Other investigations concern a building northeast of the Palmyrene Gate rightly interpreted by Rostovtzeff as the temple of the Tyche of Dura, the baths of the Palmyrene Gate, the south ramparts, the southern bastion, the "triumphal arch." Beside the inscriptions already referred to as important for the temples, a dedication to Julia Domna may be mentioned which gives the official Roman title of the Roman city, Aurelia Antoniana Europos, and makes it fairly certain that its colonial status was received from Caracalla. A semitic inscription edited by Mr. Torrey is called the oldest known monument of Mesopotamian Christianity because it sounds monotheistic and the author was probably the brother of "the royal scribe Lababua" who wrote the conversion of Abgar of Edessa. Among the finds edited by Clark Hopkins, a suit of chain mail, a figurine and a terracotta relief are remarkable as adding to our knowledge of Parthian dress. An altar shows on three sides a Parthian, a camel before a tree, indicating according to Mr. Hopkins the property of the dedicant, the struggle between a hero and a lion symbolizing the Iranian conception of the struggle between good and evil. A splendid chapter is written by Mr. Baur on some heads and a relief presenting Hadad, Atargatis and a "standard." He deals with the style and traces the evolution of the religious conception of the represented deities from early fetishism to later times surveying the whole of the Near East in a most exhaustive and illuminating way. Mr. Bellinger gives a summary on coins, the bulk of which came to Dura from the West, most of them from Antioch, whereas those from Palmyra and Parthia are scanty. He also summarizes the results of the campaign for the history of Dura. He is surely right in claiming, on the evidence of a coin of Sapor, the year 256 as our last fixed date, but if the last campaign has not corroborated Mr. Rostovtzeff's theory of a later reoccupation by the Palmyrenes or Mr. Johnson's that the town still existed in 272, it is not by any means excluded that further excavations will yield the proof. Furthermore, I cannot see why the destruction of Dura must have taken place in the first campaign of Sapor and not in the second, so that the date 264 A.D. given by Malalas might be

correct, and not to be discarded for 256 as Mr. Bellinger would prefer.

VALENTIN MÜLLER

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

KARANIS, Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations During the Seasons 1924-28, by Arthur E. R. Boak and Enoch E. Peterson. Vol. XXV. Univ. of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series. Ann Arbor, 1931. \$2.00.

Ancient Karanis on the northern edge of the Fayûm is undoubtedly one of the most important Greco-Roman sites practicable for excavation that we know of in Egypt. Excavation of towns of the period has hitherto largely consisted in a search for papyri, and one welcomes the prospect of a record of all sides of daily life in a provincial town of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The University of Michigan Expedition is to be congratulated on the extensive and careful surveys and clearances which they have thus far accomplished, and one hopes that circumstances will permit the excavations to be carried through to completion and the definitive publication of results undertaken without undue delay. This book is a preliminary report on the architecture of the houses in two areas of the town. The objects found during the excavations will be dealt with in later publications. These include papyri, ostraka, coins, objects of faience and wood, basketry, textiles, beads, bronzes, pottery and terracottas. Some of the papyri have already been published. In this book the architecture is illustrated by 84 photographs and 6 plans, several of the latter including a number of sections and comprising in all 20 sheets. Professor Boak was in the field during the first season, and since 1926 Mr. Peterson has directed the expedition. In the report a considerable number of houses belonging to three successive periods are described and illustrated. It is not yet possible to date these periods closely, but it would appear that the site was gradually abandoned during the fifth century A.D. The earliest structures uncovered thus far belong to the Ptolemaic period. Most of the photographs are good. Their legends sometimes omit the numbers of some of the houses referred to in the text, and in general the compass-point should be given and more detailed information. The plans are well drawn, but the house numbers are too small. If it is not convenient for the sections of the plans to overlap, at least street and house numbers should be repeated. The in-



sulae might have been indicated on Plan IV, and the references in the text to the plans might have been more frequent. On Plan III, A and B, the designations of rooms are far too small and indistinct, and so are the Greek letters on the section lines. In the text, where reference is made to previous remarks in the book, the page number should be given. In the description of buildings, points of the compass should be used to the exclusion of left and right. It is a pity a brief subject index was not appended. It is always worth the trouble. The book suffers somewhat from hasty proof-reading. The following details are set down for what suggestive value they may have. On p. 2, and throughout the book, for *sebbakhin* read *sebbâkhin*. On p. 4 for *fellahin* read *fellâhîn*. At top of p. 8 for "Plan I" and "Plan II" read Plan II and Plan III. In lines 10-11 "the even masonry of . . . B 14" is also presumably of sun-dried brick. P. 8, middle: for B 76 read apparently B 56, following Plan II. In line 8 from bottom for "right foreground" read left foreground? On p. 10, lines 4-5, it is stated that house B 1 had no underground floors. It is, therefore, confusing that Plan III A purports to show the "Underground Rooms" of this house. In the last paragraph, the southern wall of B 1 is said to cross the passage BS 3 "to the eastern wall of B 2 where it joined another wall running north and south parallel to the west wall of B 1." This other wall is not on the plan and the text does not help us to locate it. It seems hard to distinguish it from the eastern wall of B 2. On p. 11, line 5, for "Figure 13" read Figure 12. Lower in this paragraph references to Figs. 12 and 13 might have been individually inserted where they are most needed instead of at the end of the paragraph. On p. 11, line 22, for "Figure 12" read Figure 13. On p. 14, second paragraph, the reader should have been told that the Topographical Map is the frontispiece. Near the bottom of this page more detailed description is needed as regards Figure 15. On p. 15, line 5, the figures 91 and 95 should be transposed if Plan III B is correct. In lines 14 and 18 for "Figure 16" read Figure 17. On p. 17, end of first paragraph, the reference to Fig. 1 and the legend of that figure should be more explicit. In the next paragraph the reader gets the impression from the reference to Fig. 15 that it is the entrance into G, not C, that is being discussed. In the next paragraph it is, of course, room A, not its south wall, that has been widened at the W.

end, as may be seen from the plan. The next sentence is confusing. Carrying the widening of the entrance some distance back from the main doorway suggests that it may mark the open (rather than the closed) position of the door. Such recesses for opened doors are, of course, well known in Egypt from early times. In the last paragraph we are told that room B had two niches, one in the east wall, the other in the north wall, while Plan III B shows a third niche or a window, probably both, in the west wall, and, moreover, on p. 18, line 5, reference is made to a niche in the west wall. On p. 18, in the fourth paragraph, we are told of a hole "near the north end of this north wall." In the next paragraph reference is made to a window in the north wall, but the window which seems to appear in the west wall on the plan is not mentioned. On p. 21, last line but one, no reference is given for a building designated as 508 4 B. The "holes" mentioned on p. 23, line 7, look in Fig. 23 more like slots. If this is not a false impression from the photograph, it would seem that the beams were intended to be easily removable. The reference a few lines below to Fig. 22 needs detailed explanation. Near the bottom of the page the references to Figs. 24 and 25 do not seem very useful. To the reader, Figs. 27 and 28 seem better, though even these do not show clearly the contrast between the types of brick. On p. 25, line 7, for "bottom" read probably "lower part." In the first line of the second paragraph, for 33 read 32. On p. 26, lines 3-4, the protected corner of B 47 is called northeast, and reference is made to Fig. 36 where, however, the corner is called southeast. Just below, the use of a stone for corner protection is mentioned in connection with B 53. We are referred to Fig. 34 where the house is called B 3. At the middle of p. 27, for BS 40 read B 40. On p. 35, third paragraph, for Figure 25 read Figure 35. On p. 42, fourth paragraph, in the first and third lines, for "west" read "east." On p. 65, fifth line from bottom, for C 88 A read, apparently, C 88 B.

The book is a valuable survey of the domestic arrangements of the inhabitants of Karanis and serves to whet the appetite for the publications to follow.

LUDLOW BULL

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT. Römisch-Germanische Kommission. Römische

Grabmäler des Mosellandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete. Band II. Die Grabmäler von Neumagen bearbeitet von *Wilhelm von Massow* mit einer Einleitung von *Emil Krüger*. Pp. 1-296, figs. 485; pls. 68. Frankfurt, 1932.

It is known to everybody who is interested in the history of Roman, especially of Roman provincial art how rich is the country of the Moselle with its capital Trier (ancient Augusta Treverorum) in various monuments of antiquity. Trier itself—one of the later capitals of the Roman Empire—attracts thousands of tourists every year, tourists who are eager to see its famous Porta Nigra, its cathedral which incorporated into itself a part of the imperial palace, its gorgeous *thermae* and last, but not least, the recently excavated large city of the local gods—Celtic and Teutonic—which was so carefully unearthed and studied by S. Loeschke. Trier also possesses one of the best archaeological museums of local antiquities. The greatest attraction of this museum are the sculptures of Neumagen, especially those scenes of domestic and business life of the residents of the Moselle valley which are now familiar to every educated man in Germany: the famous ships laden with barrels of wine, the toilette scenes (the lady of the house making her morning toilette with the help of her maids), the scenes of domestic meals, the payment of rents by the peasants and last, but not least, the wonderful genre-pictures of the boys of the family in the schoolroom.

The fact of the existence of funeral monuments adorned with such sculptures in the region of the Moselle and in the adjoining parts of Germany (both to the North—Luxembourg and parts of Belgium, especially Arlon, and to the South—as far as Augsburg) was well known to students of antiquity from time immemorial. One of these funeral monuments—the *Igel Säule*—still stands in all its glory near the little town of Igel and is visited by many tourists. And yet it was a long time before even this famous monument was adequately published, and we still wait for the time when all the remains of the destroyed monuments of this and similar types will be collected, studied and published in an adequate way. We have, of course, the immensely useful *Corpus of Espérandieu*, but the reproductions of this *Corpus* are poor and it is just what it pretends to be—a catalogue. We must, therefore, be grateful to the Roman-German Commission of the German Archaeological Institute for having started such a

study and publication. The first volume of this publication, compiled by H. Dragendorff and E. Krüger, deals with the funeral monuments of Igel, and was published in 1924. It is an excellent piece of work richly illustrated and containing a fine interpretation of the monuments. Eight years elapsed before the second volume of this series was published.

The monuments of Neumagen are no doubt the most brilliant products of Celto-Roman or German-Roman sculpture. It may be due partly to the fact that these sculptures are so well preserved, thanks to the circumstances in which they were buried, but I am inclined to think that the real explanation of this superiority is the great economic prosperity of the region of Trier and of Trier itself in the period of the early Roman Empire.

The history of the monuments of Neumagen is very interesting. For the first time it has been told completely in all details by E. Krüger, Director of the Provincial Museum of Trier, in the introduction to the book under review. The little hamlet of Noviomagus never had any special importance in the life of the Moselle region. It was probably a market place for a rich agricultural region and a post station of the Moselle road. It is by mere chance that the place became known to the modern world: Ausonius mentions Noviomagus in his famous description of the Moselle region as the place where stood "*divi castra inclita Constantini*."

In modern times Neumagen was known for a long time as a place where the soil of the medieval castle was exceedingly rich in antiquities. It is certain that before this fact became known to antiquarians the residents of the place extracted from the soil hundreds of sculptures and inscriptions which were used by them as building material and for various other purposes. For the first time the active attention of scholars was attracted to this place in 1877 when the Museum of Trier was just created and a young and talented archaeologist, F. Hettner, was appointed its first director. An unusually large find of sculptures was made by the residents of Neumagen in 1877, and Hettner used this opportunity for enriching his new museum by buying the antiquities from the finders. The work was carried on in 1878 with the same success. Then it stopped for a while. The museum had no means and the director no time for carrying it on systematically and scientifically. It was not until 1884 that the

work began again, and it took two years to bring it to a happy end. Since that time only supplementary excavations and investigations have been carried out: the bulk of material was there and was soon exhibited in the new building of the Provincial Museum.

While at the beginning Hettner still believed like everybody before him that the sculptures and inscriptions of Neumagen came from the walls and towers of the Wittelsbach castle, the systematic excavations showed at once that it was not so. The sculptures were used for making solid foundations for the "castra Constantini" mentioned by Ausonius. It was possible for Hettner to excavate the walls of this castle completely and to draw an accurate map of it.

Once in the museum the sculptures of Neumagen became famous. However, Hettner had no time to devote himself entirely to the difficult study of these monuments. It was evident that the sculptures and inscriptions belonged to several funeral monuments of various types. These types were well known to Hettner. He knew also that there were two classes of sculptures and of funeral monuments: those of limestone and those of sandstone, the latter being the later. In many a paper and in his Catalogue of the Museum of Trier, Hettner made some of the sculptures known. And that was all.

After his death, H. Graeven was appointed. He also died very soon. The real work began after his death. E. Krüger, the successor of Graeven, took it in his hands. Soon, however, it became evident to him that it was impossible for a man who devoted only a part of his time to it to do the work in an appropriate way. A close, careful, long and uninterrupted study was needed. There was, therefore, a need of a specially trained man to carry out the work to its end. Such a man was found in the person of W. von Massow, now assistant-director in the Museum of Berlin.

The work of Massow is admirable. With painstaking accuracy he described, measured and studied all the fragments. He carefully investigated the exact place where the fragments were found. In patient and tireless work he put together one fragment after another, and finally reached the point where it became possible to assign most of the fragments to the respective funeral monuments to which they had belonged originally and to attempt the reconstruction of these monuments. For everyone who is familiar with the dull and difficult work of similar recon-

structions it is a real pleasure to read the description of the single monuments in the first part of Massow's work and to follow him in his demonstration of the way in which the various fragments, sometimes little, must be put together and of the kind of monument to which they belonged. At the same time the reader finds in this first part an accurate description and a fine interpretation of the single figures and groups of figures. The results reached by von Massow are convincing and highly interesting. Massow summarizes them in the last chapters of his text.

Not very many monuments were destroyed for building the castra of Constantine, and all these monuments originally stood probably in the nearest neighborhood of Neumagen, viz. funeral monuments of the rich owners of villas and landed estates in this fertile region.

The forms of monuments are few. Exceptional are some common types of grave monuments spread far and wide over the Roman Empire: the funeral tower and the circular grave monument. The local types are represented by (1) the monumental altar which shows a peculiar evolution, (2) the grave stele of unusually large dimensions which gradually is transformed into (3) the most peculiar form of grave monuments of this region—the "grave-pilaster," "der Grabpfeiler," which was used for displaying on its walls the most typical scenes of the Moselle repertoire, the scenes of domestic and business life of the owners of the monuments. Painted in gorgeous colors, carefully studied by Massow, the monuments of Neumagen certainly present a peculiar and interesting aspect.

Certain is also the dating of the monuments. No undoubted examples of monuments of the first century A.D. are extant. Most of the monuments must be dated in the second and the early part of the third century. After the collapse of the Limes in 259/60, no more monuments were built. The most glorious period of local art was the later part of this short period: the late second and the early third century A.D. (on p. 285 the reader will find a list of grave monuments arranged by the author in chronological order).

No general characterization of the Neumagen sculptures has been attempted by the author. He finds such a general characterization premature. We must wait until the whole group is published and studied in the same way in which the Igel and Neumagen monuments were investigated. And yet the few remarks of Massow

scattered all over the work make it possible for the student of art to form his own judgment and to follow the gradual development of a vigorous local school of art, realistic and psychological, based on strict observation of life and on a deep understanding of it, not devoid of a sense of humor and of an occasional insight into the depths of human feelings.

All told, the volume of Neumagen is a masterpiece. We will wait with impatience the completion of this series, for the volumes on Luxembourg, Arlon and Augsburg.

M. ROSTOVITZ

YALE UNIVERSITY

KATALOG DER BIBLIOTHEK DES DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS IN ROM, von August Mau. Band II: Bearbeitet von Friedrich Matz. 1. Teil. XXXV, 950 Seiten. 1932. RM. 54. 2. Teil. IX Seiten und Seite 951-1706. 1932. RM. 41.50.

In 1930 the German Archaeological Institute in Rome issued a supplement to the first volume of its catalogue. Here is the second volume in two parts, 1700 pages, and this like its predecessor lists the books and articles on hand in October, 1925. The principal subjects included here are architecture, sculpture, painting, religion, epigraphy, public and private life. It makes no attempt to include prehistory, Egypt, and the Orient, except in so far as the articles closely concern classical interests, and numismatics is omitted for separate treatment.

The German Institute Library is, of course, the best of its kind, and I recall how delighted all scholars in Rome were when, through the generous endeavors of Benedetto Croce in 1922, the Library was rescued from sequestration and installed under the efficient direction of the beloved scholar Walter Amelung.

I have tried for some hours to test the accuracy of the catalogue and have found no mistakes. Von Mercklin, Matz, and their helpers have done a careful piece of work. The reader must not, however, assume that the Library, for all its rich store of books, is complete. It also has had to struggle with limited resources. For instance, when I once suggested to Director Amelung that he include two of our journals by exchange for the *Mitteilungen*, he answered that, since the universities responsible for them were already paying cash for the *Mitteilungen*, the Library could not afford to make the exchange and thus forego the sub-

scription price. This probably explains why several important titles are missing. The Library has also had some difficulty in catching up with the scholarly output of the years 1915-23.

Archaeologists need not be reminded of this useful *vade mecum*, but now and then one meets classical scholars interested in subjects like religion, epigraphy, social or economic history, who have not discovered it. Henceforth no classical library should attempt to get along without these volumes.

TENNEY FRANK

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

THE INFLUENCE OF TECHNIQUE ON THE DECORATIVE STYLE IN THE DOMESTIC POTTERY OF CULHUACAN, by Anita Brenner. (Publicación de la Escuela Internacional de Arqueología y Etnología Americanas.) Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XIII. 8vo, pp. 95, 45 figs. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931. \$2.

Culhuacan, formerly Colhuacan, was the principal city of the Acolhuas or Chichimecs, the immediate predecessors of the Aztecs in the Valley of Mexico. Today it is an obscure village in the environs of Mexico City, of slight importance even to archaeologists, but until about the year 1425, when its dominance was overwhelmed by the rise of the Aztecs, it was the principal city in the Valley. The Acolhuas were closely related to the Aztecs in blood, language and culture, and their pottery is very similar to the typical ware of the Aztecs.

Anita Brenner's study is concerned with the field of art rather than of archaeology. She is not primarily interested in the characteristics of Culhuacan pottery which distinguish it from Aztec, further than to conclude that "the domestic pottery of Culhuacan is a locally differentiated development of Aztec domestic pottery . . . and shares most of its typical designs, compositions and stylistic complexities. . . . But the decoration . . . is very different in appearance . . . and this difference is superficially describable as hasty, even slovenly, execution as contrasted with the rigid delineation and spacing of typical Aztec design." Her interest is with the motor habits that determined and produced this differentiation. The pottery is not interesting from an aesthetic point of view.



In ancient as in modern Mexico, great specialization of industry obtained. Certain villages were famed as pottery-making centers, and certain families were dedicated to this art through generations. Local, family and individual idiosyncracies therefore developed, and it was doubtless possible then, even more than today, for the expert to recognize the ware produced by a certain village, family, or even person.

The distinctive feature of the decoration of Culhuacan pottery is a freehand style which often takes on the highly individual appearance of handwriting, and the present investigation is a study of the factors which helped to produce the predominance of this freehand trait.

"This analysis is not made for the purpose of elucidating the history of Culhuacan domestic ware specifically, but rather, it is an attempt to discover the nature of some processes which, presumably, may occur in the development of any artistic style, and further to detail in as exact a manner as possible, the ways in which these factors may affect decoration, and have affected the decoration of Culhuacan pottery."

"Two indispensable influences operate in the making of an object by hand. They are the psychological and the mechanical. . . . An analysis of the decoration may, therefore, reveal how much of the design-content and arrangement was retained by visual habit, and, in how far and in what ways the free operation of motor habits changed this arrangement, design-content, and the lines of the designs themselves."

"Culhuacan . . . was a pottery-making center . . . and the need to make large quantities of usable ware of no great value apparently tended to make hasty production primarily desirable, and the technique was developed under this pressure. . . . This technique shifted the control of the design from the eye, or mind, to the hand, and the free operation of automatic motor habits affected profoundly design-content and composition, and developed new designs and compositions by transforming previous forms and arrangements calligraphically." "Decoration was not discarded as would be expected in the making of a vessel primarily useful, because, it may be supposed, the habit of seeing decorated vessels established the viewpoint that a vessel was not really completed unless decorated."

Composition, design, and rhythm are the three art elements studied by Miss Brenner. The usual distinction between representational and

"geometric" design does not obtain in Aztec pottery decoration, which is highly conventional or stylized. There seem to be about twelve principal motifs. The concept of design seems to be "an assemblage of separate and separable elements." Culhuacan ware uses predominantly curvilinear forms, more so than typical Aztec pottery; angular rectilinear forms are infrequent. Calligraphic influences, using the term as implying "free handwriting movement" rather than "beautiful handwriting," are very strong; this does not imply a lack of control, but rather a shift of control from the mental image to the mechanical movements of the hand. Rhythm in decoration, according to Miss Brenner, "is established by the spatial intervals between identical design-motifs and colors, but this does not mean that a rhythmic arrangement must necessarily be a regular one . . . the only un-rhythmic composition would be one in which each design-motif bore no relation whatsoever to any of the other elements of the decoration." There are regular rhythms and irregular rhythms. One rhythmic peculiarity of Aztec design may be said to be characteristic: the habit of breaking one or more of the established rhythms deliberately, producing spatial, formal or color asymmetries. Rhythms of some type seem to be inherent in Culhuacan pottery, but, to our sense, they are often exotic and invisible. One of these rhythms is kinematic, of direction rather than of spacing.

The work is a logical, cogent and valuable contribution to this field of art technique.

J. ALDEN MASON

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM  
Philadelphia

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT MEXICO, by *Fray Bernardino de Sahagun*; translated by *Fanny R. Bandelier*, from the Spanish version of *Carlos Maria de Bustamante*, Volume 1. Pp. x+315. Fisk University Social Science Series, Fisk University Press, Nashville, 1932. \$3.50.

This work will be most welcome to all English-speaking Americanists, as it is the first English translation of the most important source for the culture history of the ancient Mexicans. The present volume contains the first four books of this monumental work, and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by others containing the other eight books.

Bernadino de Sahagun (1499-1590) was one of

the few Mexican clergy of the time of the Conquest who took an inquisitive and scientific interest in the culture of the civilization that their countrymen had conquered. Coming to Mexico in 1529, only a decade after the fall of the Aztec "Empire," he was associated throughout much of his long life with natives who had grown up in the old civilization. He quickly mastered the Aztec tongue and soon became regarded as one of the foremost, if not the foremost, authority on this language.

A student and teacher by nature and profession, he soon began to collect material for his great work on which he spent all the time he could spare from his official duties for nearly forty years. His methods were those of the modern ethnologist. Gathering about him the best of the learned Mexican authorities he could summon, he had them dictate to him while he wrote down their exact words in their native tongue. This he read over to other authorities and corrected it according to their criticisms. From these notes he compiled his work, giving the bare facts without the horrified pious comments and homilies so common in the works of most of his contemporaries. He also had the natives draw pertinent illustrations from their memories of the ancient codices. The Aztec manuscript was completed in 1566; later he made an abridged translation in Spanish which he entitled "*Historia de las Cosas de la Nueva España*." Ten partial or complete copies were made of this work, only a few of which have been preserved.

The original Aztec text has never been published in full, but several chapters on particular topics with translations have appeared. In 1829 Bustamante published one Spanish text in Mexico, from which the present work has been translated, and about the same time, 1830-1848, Lord Kingsborough published another Spanish text in his monumental, rare and expensive nine-volume folio work "*Antiquities of Mexico*." The standard and most available edition to date has been the French translation by Simeon and Jourdanet, published in 1880.

The translator and editor, the widow of the late great Americanist, Adolph F. A. Banielier, brought to her task great talent and knowledge of Spanish, and the result appears to be excellent. After a Foreword by Dr. Clark Wissler, and a Preface by Mrs. Banielier, there follows a fifteen page biography of Sahagun. The four books on, respectively, "The Gods which the Ancient Mexi-

cans Adored," "Feasts and Sacrifices," "The Origin of the Mexican Gods," and "Astrology or Art of Divining," take up the greater part of the work. These are followed by an extensive fifty-five-page discussion of Sahagun's Bibliography, and by an Index, which is valuable but not as full as desirable.

It is regrettable that the original illustrations that accompanied some of the manuscript copies were not reproduced. Following the example of Bustamante and Jourdanet, Mrs. Banielier omits Chapter 39 of Book 4 as "useless." Although this contains mainly recapitulation of what has preceded, since it is a short chapter it would have made the work more complete to have included it as Kingsborough did.

The translation was a great task and apparently done with meticulous care. Alternative translations are given in parentheses, which are almost annoyingly common and often apparently unnecessary, as, for instance, "bow (prow)," "front of head (forehead)," "large stones (rocks)." Interpolations, explanations and comments are also added in parentheses, as "(it also means extreme hardness, and I think in this case it is the latter)." Many of these might better have been put in footnotes, of which there are some, often of a nature indistinguishable from the parentheses in the text. Occasional errors in orthography, and a few misinterpretations, such as, for instance, "chapopotl (chapote, which is black wax)," which would have been better rendered "chapopotl (chapopote, which is asphalt)." But with such a useful work, it is gratuitous to search for minor flaws.

J. ALDEN MASON

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM  
Philadelphia

CIMABUE: A CRITICAL STUDY, by *Alfred Nicholson*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1932. \$10.

Professor Nicholson has produced a book that is both brief and learned. He has also treated a highly controversial subject with restraint and a large measure of common sense. The position of Cimabue in the history of painting has changed frequently in the last few generations and the pendulum of his popularity has swung through a wider arc than that of any other artist of his period. The old histories of painting used to begin with the assumption that Cimabue was the first artist to break from the "Byzantine" method and was

therefore the father of modern painting. Dante's famous lines in the *Divine Comedy* attested his importance and Vasari's anecdote of the Rucellai Madonna was swallowed whole. The reputation of the artist seemed secure. Then the attribution to Cimabue of the Rucellai Madonna was questioned and now is rejected by almost all serious scholars. The Rucellai story proved a myth, the painter himself began to be regarded as semi-mythical. Extreme Sieneese supporters, like Douglas, pointed out that there was nowhere in the world a signed or definitely documented painting by Cimabue and that therefore all discussion of his style was in the realm of dubious conjecture. Soon the extremist quality of these views stirred a reaction, however, and serious scholars undertook the analysis and rehabilitation of the artist. The chief work to bring order into chaos was the admirable monograph of Andreas Aubert, published in 1907.

Into this welter of dispute and attribution, Professor Nicholson has entered only lightly. His chief interest and his most important contributions are on the aesthetic side. Indeed, it is as refreshing as it is rare to find a book nowadays primarily concerned not with whether or not a painter has done a certain work but why, having done it, that work is aesthetically significant. The problems of attribution he could not entirely avoid, but he has not emphasized them, not attempted to change in any radical way the list of the painter's works. Rather, in the matter of attribution he has shown discrimination in dividing the authentic from the school pieces in the *oeuvre* already projected by earlier scholars, notably Aubert.

Thus, the most interesting and original parts of the volume involve the study of aesthetic. The discussion on page 3, in which the author describes the four Evangelists of the central vault in the Lower Church of St. Francis at Assisi, is a case in point. He emphasizes the character of the silhouette, the manner in which the curved angles echo and harmonize with the architectural character of the vault, and in a measure he anticipates the interesting discussion of aesthetics which is to come later, on page 20. Here he lists the four fundamental relations that mural painting may have with the architecture that encloses it and shows how Cimabue's figures "seem three dimensional and repeatedly suggest with infinite variations the aesthetic qualities of the architectural enclosure." The philosophy may seem a

trifle rarified, but it is sound, especially as the good sense of the author promptly points out that Cimabue probably reached his effects without a conscious formulation of the philosophy.

The book is cautiously written and there is little that a scholar could dispute. At times, perhaps, it is a little overcautious and not so definite as some readers might prefer. One might like perhaps a more vigorous handling of the problem of the Madonna of the Louvre which the author rejects, of course, but the absurdity of the attribution of which to Cimabue he might have emphasized with more force. The attribution of the Crucifix in San Domenico at Arezzo to Cimabue or "a master of similar style and equal potentiality" might have been backed with more morphological detail. It is perhaps captious, however, to praise an author for breadth and sanity and blame him for not taking a more definite stand on every controversial point.

One of the outstanding excellencies of the book is the quality of the illustrations. These would have been mentioned first had it not been for the fear of giving the impression that they, and not the text, were the really valuable part of the book. Professor Nicholson has been at pains to have made specially the clearest and most revealing of photographs. Until they were made, it was impossible really to know the painter's style. With these it is possible for the author to make, as he does, the shrewd distinctions between the works of the master's hand and those of the pupils in a single series like that at Assisi. Incidentally, he throws light not only upon Cimabue, but upon related problems, and other scholars are reaping the benefits of Professor Nicholson's labors. The photographs are admirably reproduced by the Princeton University Press.

The arrangement of the material is perhaps not so happy. It is obviously handy and economical for both author and publishers to arrange the material in a book so that the text comes first, the footnotes at the end of the text, the appendices after that, and the illustrations in a block at the end; for the reader, it is exasperating. In a learned treatise, the footnotes are nearly as important and interesting as the text. The illustrations must be consulted constantly. The effort to read the text, keeping one finger in the part of the book which enables one to turn to the corresponding footnotes and another in the similar section of the illustrations, is exhausting. If economy forces the notes into a separate section, at least the illus-

trations might have been run in the text. This criticism, however, should not blind us to the excellent work of the Press. We may also congratulate the author on having produced a book which is scholarly, readable and, in its attitude toward specific problems and the contributions of other scholars, so reasonable and good-tempered.

G. H. EDGELL

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
School of Architecture

MÉLANGES HULIN DE LOO. G. Van Oest, Bruxelles et Paris, 1931. Introduction by *Paul Bergmans*. 125 frs.

As stated in the Introduction, the *Mélanges Hulin de Loo* is a compilation of works by a large number of disciples who wished to render homage to a great and sympathetic personality. The Belgian scholar has attained a high place among historians of art, the more remarkable since the fine arts were not the object of his early studies. As a student, he qualified at the University of Ghent for the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Letters and Doctor of Laws. Later, he followed similar studies at Berlin and Strasbourg, and at Paris he worked at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France. His first important publication was in connection with the social sciences.

Returning to his University of Ghent, as professor, he continued in the interests of his youth until the time of the Exposition of Primitives, organized in Bruges just thirty years ago. In this connection, using the observation with which his social studies had equipped him, he published a critical catalogue "*De l'identité de certains maîtres anonymes*" and, probably without realizing it,

launched himself in a new career which was to bring him honor through the world of historians of art.

The *Mélanges* is largely a proof of that honor and that influence. It is difficult to review, since it is composed of fifty unrelated articles by scholars from all over the world. Naturally, the subjects are all related to Flemish art and especially painting. We note such discussions as "Flemish Art in Valladolid," "Embroideries in the Style of the Van Eycks in the Tomb of Cardinal Cervantes in the Cathedral of Seville," "The Triptych of Clement VII in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Cagliari," "The Wilton Diptych," "The Master of the Annunciation of Aix and Colantonio," "Metsys and Portugal," "Inspiration and Originality in the Tapestries of the Apocalypse of Angers," as well as many other articles more completely and definitely Flemish.

The compilation bristles with famous names. Sir Martin Conway, Jules Destrée, Max Friedländer, Jean Guiffrey, Edouard Michel, Salomon Reinach—to mention only a few—have united to honor the Belgian scholar. As one picks up the book, one has the impression that it is written in all the tongues of Pentecost. French, English, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, meet the eye with bewildering rapidity, as one turns over the pages. Each article is a unit in itself. Each contributes something definite and original, however small, to the history of art. The cumulative effect is that of a tribute to a great scholar and lovable master of which he may be justly proud.

G. H. EDGELL

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
School of Architecture



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THE American Council of Learned Societies is able to offer a limited number of grants to individual scholars to assist them in carrying on definite projects of research in the humanistic sciences: philosophy; philology, literature, and linguistics; archaeology and art; musicology; history, especially all branches of cultural and intellectual history, but exclusive of those branches that are essentially social, economic, and political history; and auxiliary sciences.

The grants are of two categories:

A. *Small grants.* These are designed to assist research by scholars who are trained in scientific methods of investigation. The maximum of the small grants is three hundred dollars. Small additional allowances may, however, be made at the discretion of the Committee to meet unusual expenses involved in the research; the nature of such expenses must be indicated in the application.

B. *Larger grants.* These are designed primarily to assist in the advancement of knowledge and are reserved for mature scholars of substantial achievement in constructive research, who should be able to devote at least six months of uninterrupted work to their investigations. The larger grants range in amount from five hundred to two thousand dollars. Grants in excess of one thousand dollars are, however, made only in very exceptional cases.

Applicants for both categories of grant must be citizens of the United States or Canada or permanently employed or domiciled therein; they must be actually engaged in the research for which they request assistance, and must personally be in need of the aid for which they apply.

Applicants must possess a doctor's degree or its equivalent in training, study, and experience. No grants will be made to assist in the fulfillment of requirements for any academic degree.

The grants are available for specific purposes, such as travel, technical and secretarial assistance, and purchase of material. Application should not, however, be made for the purchase of materials that can be secured through some other agency, such as the Rotograph Fund of the Modern Language Association, the Library of Congress or other libraries. It is not expected that grants shall be used for the purchase of books which the applicant's university or college library might reasonably be expected to acquire.

Applications must be made in duplicate upon special forms provided for that purpose, and must be mailed to the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C., not later than December 15. Awards will be made in March, but unless other provision is made by the Council at its annual meeting, they will not be payable until July 1st.

When requesting application blanks, the prospective applicant is asked to indicate for which category of grant application is to be made.

### RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS IN THE HUMANITIES

The American Council of Learned Societies is enabled to offer a limited number of post-doctoral Research Fellowships in the Humanities. The purpose of these Fellowships is to provide opportunities for further training and experience in humanistic research to younger scholars of unusual ability selected from among those who have demonstrated unmistakable aptitude for constructive scholarship.

The Fellowships are available in all fields of the Humanities except the Social Sciences, which latter are provided for by the Social Science Research Council. The following enumeration, not necessarily complete, serves to define more explicitly the scope of the Fellowships: philosophy; philology, literature, and linguistics; archaeology and art; musicology; history, especially all branches of cultural and intellectual history, but not including such branches as are essentially social, economic, or political history; and auxiliary sciences.

Research Fellows in the Humanities are selected by the Committee on Fellowships and Grants of the American Council of Learned Societies from among the eligible scholars, either men or women, who may apply for appointment. Awards are made in March.

Applications must be presented on or before December 15 of each year. They should be made in duplicate on forms which will be provided upon request; and should include references, *by permission*, to three scholars, well acquainted with the applicants, who will be invited to supply such information as may be needed by the Committee. After an application has been filed, the Secretary may request that a specimen of the applicant's antecedent work be submitted.

Applicants must be citizens of the United States or Canada or permanently domiciled or employed therein. They must have attained the doctorate or, in the judgment of the Committee, its equivalent in training and experience. It is also desirable that they shall have had experience in teaching or in independent research. They must not be more than thirty-six years of age (i.e., an applicant's thirty-seventh birthday must not antedate July 1 of the year in which awards are made), and they must be possessed of good health and habits and be in sound physical condition. A physical examination may be required at the discretion of the Committee.

Each applicant is required to present a definite plan of work. It is assumed that research will have the major place in such a plan, but more general study is not excluded when designed to lay the foundations for approach to the problems within the applicant's special field. The proposed work may be carried on within or without the United States, and the applicant must state in what place or places and at what institution or institutions (university, school, institute, library, museum, archives, etc.) he proposes to carry on his work, or with what scholars or projects of research he hopes, permission being already assured, to be associated.

The basic annual stipend of the Research Fellowships in the Humanities is eighteen hundred dollars, but adjustments not exceeding six hundred dollars may be made by the Committee if desirable because of special circumstances. In addition to stipend, allowance may be made for travel and other expenses incidental to the work of the Fellowships.

Address all inquiries to Donald Goodchild, Secretary for Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.



PLATE XXX.—ROME, MUSEO DELLE TERME. STUC DE LA FARNÉSINE.  
*Photo. Alinari 6286*



1. MUSÉE DE NAPLES. AMPHORE DE RUVO.

*Photo. Alinari 11300b*



2. ROME, MUSEO DELLE TERME. PLAQUE DÉCORATIVE DE  
TERRE-CUITE.

*Photo. Alinari 27371*





1. PARIS, LOUVRE. BAS-RELIEF.



2. PARIS, LOUVRE. PLAQUE CAMPANA.



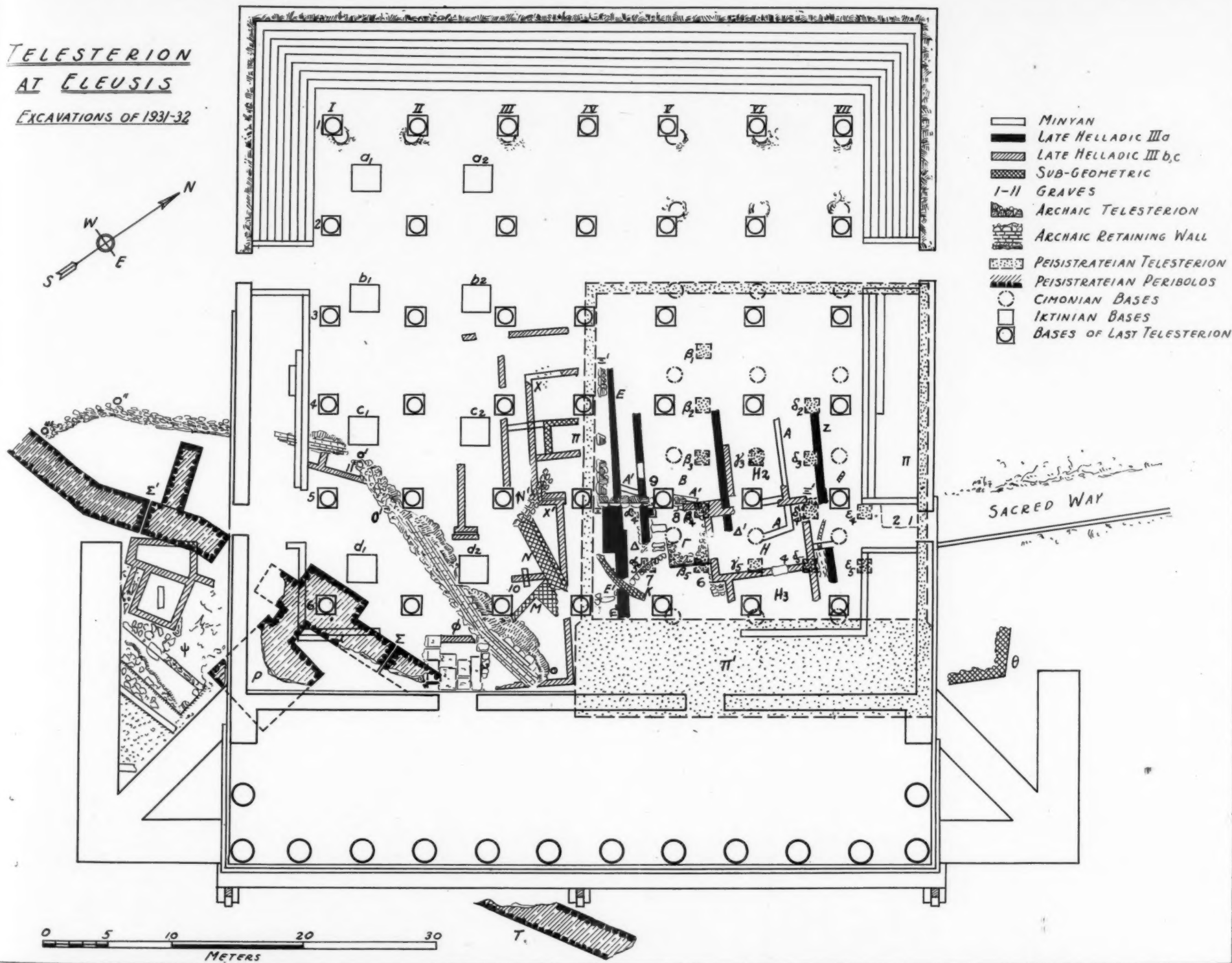
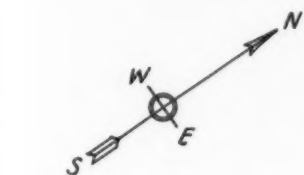
1. ROME, MUSEO DELLE TERME. STUC DE LA FARNÉSINE



2. FLORENCE, MUSÉE DES OFFICES. VERRE TROUVÉ EN ETRURIE

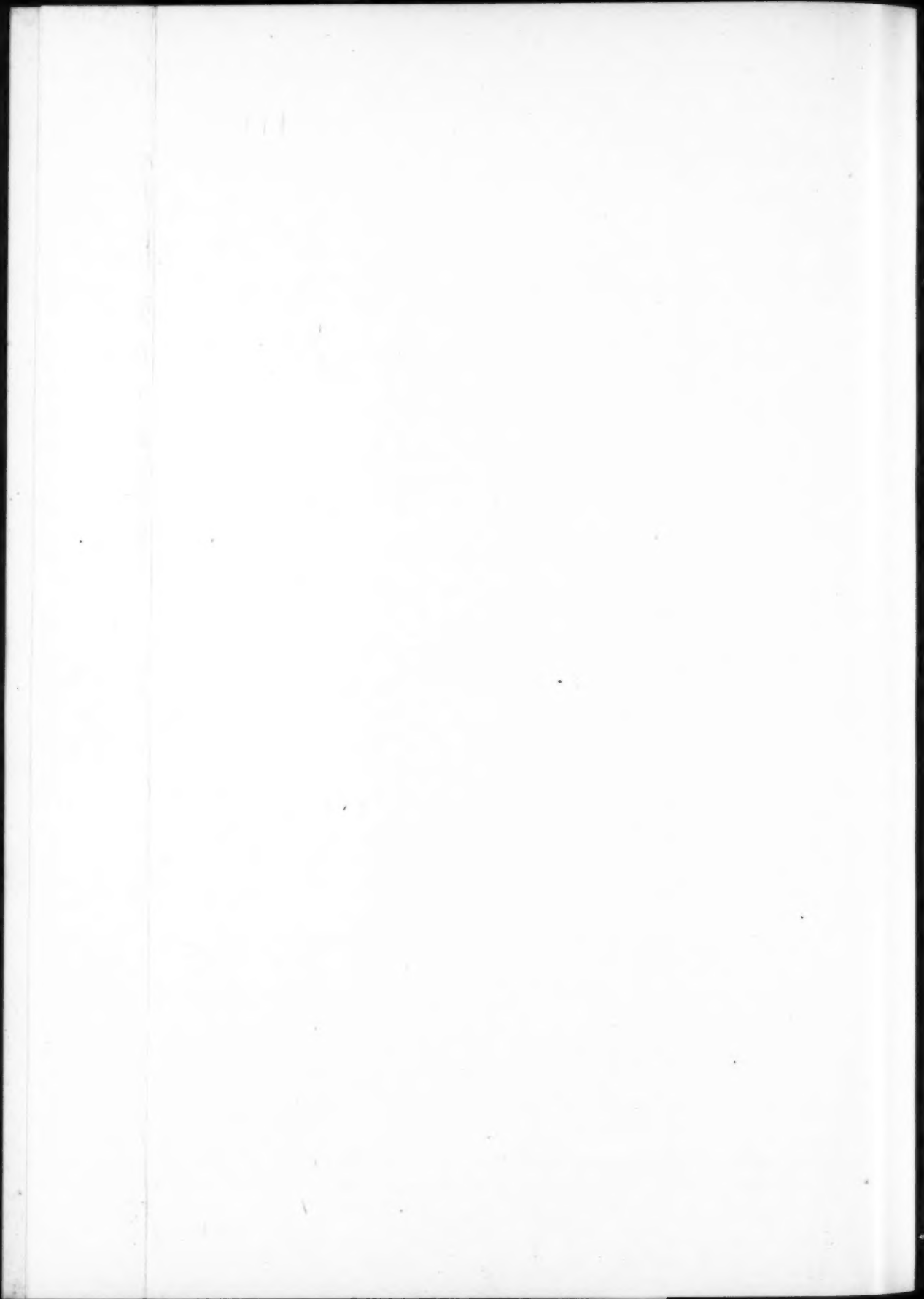
*TELESTERION  
AT ELEUSIS*

*EXCAVATIONS OF 1931-32*



- MINYAN
- LATE HELLADIC IIIa
- LATE HELLADIC III b,c
- SUB-GEOMETRIC
- 1-II GRAVES
- ARCHAIC TELESTERION
- ARCHAIC RETAINING WALL
- PEISISTRATEIAN TELESTERION
- PEISISTRATEIAN PERIBOLOS
- CIMONIAN BASES
- IKTINIAN BASES
- BASES OF LAST TELESTERION

PLATE XXXIV.—TELESTERION AT ELEUSIS. PLAN. EXCAVATIONS OF 1931-32



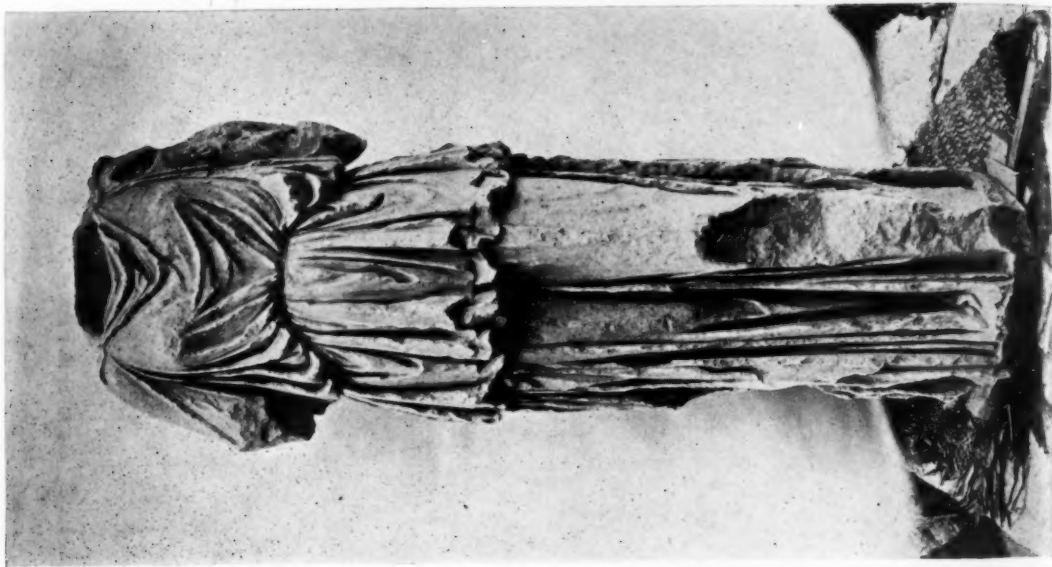




THE PLAN OF THE AMERICAN ZONE OF THE AGORA



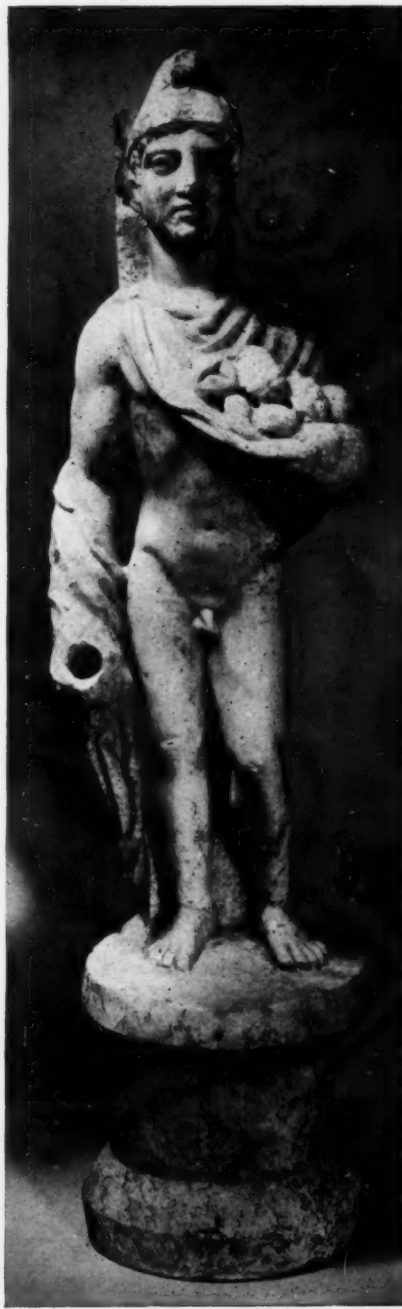
1. THE STATUE OF A WINGED NIKE. FOURTH CENTURY B.C.



2. STATUE OF A WOMAN. ROMAN COPY OF A GREEK WORK



1. STATUETTE OF APHRODITE. ROMAN PERIOD



2. STATUETTE OF ATTIS. SECOND CENTURY A.D.



1. ROMAN PORTRAIT OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD



2. PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR COMMODUS